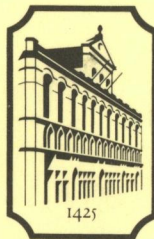


# HUMANISTICA LOVANIENSIA

JOURNAL OF NEO-LATIN STUDIES

Vol. LV - 2006



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## HUMANISTICA LOVANIENSIA

### Journal of Neo-Latin Studies

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Gilbert TOURNOY

LA STORIOGRAFIA GRECA NELL'UMANESIMO: ARRIANO,  
PIER PAOLO VERGERIO E ENEA SILVIO PICCOLOMINI

Durante il convegno su Pio II, organizzato dall'Istituto Francesco Petrarca a Chianciano e Pienza nel luglio 2005, ho avuto occasione di mettere in luce l'importanza delle opere e delle lettere del Piccolomini per la storiografia fiamminga, in particolare per Adriano But, monaco cistercense dell'abbazia di Ter Duinen a Koksijde, sulla costa belga. Questi aveva inserito nella sua cronaca ampi brani delle lettere e delle opere del Piccolomini, imitando in questa maniera il metodo di lavoro dello stesso Piccolomini.<sup>1</sup> Avevo inoltre focalizzato la mia attenzione su un passo enigmatico nella cronaca di But, nel quale egli spiegava l'origine e il significato del termine "heraldus", ossia "eroe", dichiarando di aver trovato questa spiegazione in una vecchia traduzione latina di Tucidide. Risultava invece che egli aveva copiato per la maggior parte la lettera che il Piccolomini aveva spedito il primo giugno 1451 al suo caro amico Giovanni Hinderbach. In questa maniera l'enigma del termine "heraldus" non era risolto, ma soltanto spostato. Anzi, in un primo momento il Piccolomini aveva depistato le nostre indagini affermando che aveva trovato questa spiegazione in un vecchio codice, conservato nella sagrestia della cattedrale di S. Paolo a Londra; risultava scritto ben seicento anni prima e conteneva una traduzione latina di Tucidide. Studiando da vicino il testo della lettera piccolominea, fu il nome di uno degli eroi menzionati, Jobares, lo sposo di Pandaia, figlia di Ercole, ad aiutarci a cercare nella direzione giusta. Questo nome, storpiato in "Plates" nell'edizione della cronaca di But, appare infatti nell'*Indiké* dello storiografo greco Flavio Arriano (ca. 95-ca. 175 d.C.), un'appendice alla sua opera più famosa, *l'Anabasi di Alessandro*, in 7 libri. Nell'ottavo capitolo di questa sua descrizione dell'India si incontra il nome Jobares, che però non è il nome di un eroe, ma di un fiume. Molto interessante invece è il fatto che nello stesso

<sup>1</sup> A questo proposito si veda Berthe Widmer, "Zur Arbeitsmethode Enea Silvios im Traktat über das Elend der Hofleute", in *Lettres latines du moyen âge et de la Renaissance*. Recueil éd. par G. Cambier, C. Deroux, J. Préaux, Collection Latomus, 158 (Bruxelles, 1978), pp. 183-206.

capitolo si legge tutto il passo a proposito di Ercole e di sua figlia Pandaia (VIII.6-7)<sup>2</sup>:

Anche a lui in India nacquero molti figli maschi — ch  egli pure si un  in matrimonio a molte donne —, ma una sola femmina. 7. Eracle la chiam  Pandaia e la regione in cui ella nacque e che il padre le assegn  come regno prese da lei il nome. La fanciulla ebbe da lui in dote, altres , circa cinquecento elefanti, quattromila cavalieri e centotrentamila fanti.

Da confrontare con il testo della lettera di Piccolomini<sup>3</sup>:

sed cum venisset ad mortem multosque filios haberet, multis enim mulieribus matrimonio junctus fuit, unicam autem filiam sustulisset, Pandeam nomine, huic regnum commisit. et ut ostenderet, heroas quanti faceret pre ceteris liberis, unum ex numero heroum, nomine Jobarem, virum filie dedit, qui <g>regem gereret quingentosque huic elephantes, quatuor milia equitum et centum triginta milia peditum constituit, quibus regnum tueretur.

E c'  di pi . Nello stesso capitolo e nel capitolo precedente si scoprono pi  brani quasi identici. Arriano<sup>4</sup>:

<sup>2</sup> Cito il testo e la traduzione di Nicola Biffi, *L'Indik  di Arriano. Introduzione, testo traduzione e commento* (Bari, 2000), pp. 46-47 (VIII.6): "Κα  το τω  ρσενας μ ν πα δας πολλο ς κ ρτα γεν σθαι  ν τ   νδ ν γ  — πολλ σι γ ρ δ  γυναιξιν  ς γ μον  λθειν κα  το τον τ ν  ρακλ α —,   θυγατ ρα δ  μονογεν ην. 7. Ο νομα δ    ναι τ  παιδι Πανδα ην, κα  τ ν χ ρην,  να τε  γενετο κα   στινος  π τρεψεν α τ   ρχειν  ρακλ  ς [Πανδα  ν], τ ς παιδ ς  π νυμον. Κα  τα τ   λ φαντας μ ν γεν σθαι  κ τ  πατρ ς  ς πεντακοσ ους,  ππον δ   ς τετρακισχιλ ην, πεζ ων δ   ς τ ς τρεισκα δεκα μυριάδας."

<sup>3</sup> R. Wolkan, *Der Briefwechsel des Eneas Silvius Piccolomini*, III.1, Fontes rerum austriacarum —  sterreichische Geschichtsquellen II.68 (Wien, 1918), ep. 5 (pp. 10-16, qui pp. 12-13).

<sup>4</sup> Biffi, *L'Indik  di Arriano*, pp. 44-51: (VII.3): "Ο τω μ δ   νδο σι π ληας   ναι μ δ   ερα θε ων δεδομ να,  λλ   μπ σχεσθαι μ ν δορ ς θηρε ους δ ων κατακ νοien, σιτ εσθαι δ  τ ν δενδρ ων τ ν φλοι ν ... 4. Σιτ εσθαι δ  κα  τ ν θηρ ων δ σα  λοιεν  μοφαγ οντας, πρ ν γε δ  Διον sson  λθειν  ς τ ν χ ρην τ ν  νδ ν. 5. Διον sson δ   λθ ντα,  ς καρτερ ς  γενετο  νδ ν, π λη ς τε οικ σαι κα  ν μους θ σθαι τ σι π λεσιν, ο νου τε δοτ ρα  νδο ς γεν σθαι κατ περ " λλησι, κα  σπ ρειν διδ ξαι τ ν γ ν διδ ντα α τ ν σ ρματα, ... 7. Β ας τε  π'  ροτρον ζ  ξαι Διον sson πρ των, κα   ροτ ρας  ντι νομ δων ποι σαι  νδ ν τ ς πολλο ς, κα   πλ σαι  πλοισι το σιν  ρη οισι" 8. Κα  θε  ς σ βειν  τι  δ δαξε Διον σσος  λλους τε κα  μ λιστα δ   ωυτ ν κυμβαλ ζοντας κα  τυμπαν ζοντας" ... 9. Κα  κομ ν  νδο ς τ  θε  μ τρηφορ ειν τε  ναδε ξαι, κα  μ ρων  λοιφ ς  κδιδ ξαι ... (VIII.1)  π ντα δ   κ τ ς  νδ ν γ ς,  ς ο  τα τα κεκοσμε το, καταστήσαι βασιλ α τ ς χ ρης Σπατ μβαν, τ ν  ταιρων  να τ ν βακχωδ στατον" τελευτ σαντος δ  Σπατ μβα τ ν Βασιλ  ην  κδ ξασθαι Βουδ αν τ ν τ του πα δα. 2. Κα  τ ν μ ν πεντ κοντα κα  δ ο  ετα βασιλε σαι  νδ ν, τ ν πατ ρα, τ ν δ  πα δα   κοσιν  ετα. Κα  το του πα δα  κδ ξασθαι τ ν Βασιλ  ην Κραδε αν" 3. κα  τ   π  το δε τ  πολ  μ ν κατ  γ νος  μειβ ειν τ ν Βασιλ  ην, πα δα παρ  πατρ ς  κδεχ μενον" ... X.5. Μεγ στην δ  π λιν  νδο σιν   ναι <τ ν> Παλ μβοθρα καλεομ νην ..."

VII. 3. Del pari gli Indiani non avevano città né templi dedicati agli dei, ma indossavano le pelli degli animali che uccidevano a caccia e si cibavano della corteccia di una pianta ... 4. Prima che Dioniso giungesse nel loro paese mangiavano anche la carne (cruda) degli animali che catturavano; 5. ma una volta che il dio, giunto sin lì, li vinse, fondò città, imponendovi le leggi, donò agli Indiani, come ai Greci, il vino, e insegnò loro a seminare i campi, procurando personalmente i semi .... 7. Sempre Dioniso aggiogò per primo i buoi all'aratro e rese la maggior parte degli Indiani coltivatori anziché nomadi e li munì di armi di guerra. 8. Inoltre insegnò loro a venerare gli altri dei e soprattutto lui stesso .... 9. Poi suggerì come portare i capelli lunghi e coprirli con un turbante in onore della divinità e come ungersi di profumi ....

VIII.1. Partitosene dall'India, una volta dato corso a tutte queste istituzioni, Dioniso lasciò come re del paese Spatembas, uno dei suoi compagni e il più fervente dei baccanti; morto Spatembas, gli succedette al trono Budyas, suo figlio; 2. il padre regnò per cinquantadue anni, il figlio per venti. A quest'ultimo succedette sul trono il figlio Cradeuas, 3. e a partire da lui si avvicendarono per lungo tempo al regno di generazione in generazione sempre il figlio al padre ....

X. 5. La città più grande dell'India si chiama Palimbotra ....

Leggiamo nella lettera del Piccolomini (Wolkan, pp. 11-13):

Dionysius, qui etiam primus armatus et cum exercitu invasit Indiam ac rudes illos et agrestes homines, corticibus arborum et crudis ferarum carnibus utentes, in urbes legit, boves aratro iungere, frumenta serere, deos colere, nutrire comam, mitram ferre et unctiones / docuit unguentorum. fuitque his dator vini sicut et Grecis, armavit eos armis martialibus et ad usum vite cultioris erexit. quibus compositis cum vellet abire ... atque sic adhortatus heroas Dionysius ex India duxit exercitum. Spartembas autem regnavit super Indos quinquaginta et duos annos Budamque filium successorem reliquit, qui cum regnasset annos viginti, instituto filio Cradena vitam finivit. ac post eum per duodecim generationes heroum soboles usque ad Herculem regnavit in India.../... ex hoc natus est Polimbrotas, a quo dicta est urbs maxima Polimbrotas, cujus posteritas usque ad Alexandrum magnum per centum et triginta octo reges Indiam gubernavit. ex quibus ortus est Portus (*sic pro* Porrus), cujus virtutem miratus est Alexander atque adeo dilexit, ut victor victo regnum dignitatemque restituerit.

Bastano queste testimonianze per provare che il Piccolomini ha avuto accesso non al testo di Tucideide, ma a quello di Arriano.

A questo punto ci si chiede come il Piccolomini, che non sapeva il greco, ha potuto conoscere questo testo. Arriano non era noto in Occidente prima del Quattrocento. Fu Giovanni Aurispa (1376-1459) che nel secondo decennio del secolo portò da Costantinopoli in Italia l'Arriano



greco, insieme a tanti altri testi greci.<sup>5</sup> Di una traduzione latina molto antica prima di questa data invece non c'è alcuna traccia. Potrebbe dunque essersi sbagliato il Piccolomini, affermando che il manoscritto trovato a Londra, era un vecchio codice scritto seicento anni prima? Credo di no. Piccolomini ha sfacciatamente voluto dissimulare la sua fonte, che certo era una traduzione di Arriano, tuttavia non una traduzione antichissima, bensì recentissima. Ed è lo stesso Piccolomini che ci ha messo sulla pista giusta, in due lettere spedite da Wiener Neustadt rispettivamente il 26 e il 27 gennaio 1454, la prima indirizzata al suo vecchio amico Antonio Beccadelli, la seconda al re Alfonso di Napoli. In quest'ultima il Piccolomini spiega che in occasione della sua visita a Napoli, cioè quando era andato per trattare il matrimonio dell'imperatore Sigismondo con Leonora di Portogallo nell'anno 1450, il Beccadelli gli aveva chiesto quali tesori avesse scoperto dopo aver speso praticamente tutta la sua vita in Germania. Quando il Piccolomini aveva menzionato la traduzione di Arriano, realizzata da Pier Paolo Vergerio su richiesta dell'imperatore Sigismondo una ventina di anni prima, il Beccadelli gli aveva chiesto di offrirla al re Alfonso. Fino ad allora non si era presentata l'occasione, ma finalmente il Piccolomini aveva trovato un messaggero fidato nella persona di suo nipote Pietro. A lui egli affidò il manoscritto, prezioso per il contenuto, non per la forma. L'autografo del Vergerio era difatti un codice cartaceo, lacerato, corroso dal tempo. Ma il Piccolomini era talmente geloso di questo tesoro in suo possesso, che permise soltanto una volta che ne fosse fatta una copia destinata a Tommaso Parentucelli, vescovo di Bologna e futuro papa Nicolò V, che nel periodo 1444-1446 era stato legato pontificio in Germania. Un'altra copia la tenne per sé. Parte delle stesse informazioni il Piccolomini le ripete nella lettera che aveva indirizzata al Beccadelli il giorno prima. Da un'ulteriore epistola al Panormita risulta che il codice era arrivato infatti a Napoli, ma non nelle mani del Beccadelli come previsto, bensì direttamente al Re, cosa che sollevò il disappunto del Beccadelli. Dichiarandosi innocente, il Piccolomini si scusa con questa lettera e sottolinea di nuovo che fino a quel momento egli era stato il solo ad aver accesso a questo grande tesoro, il codice che Pier Paolo Vergerio aveva scritto di proprio pugno, contenente l'unica traduzione latina di Arriano.

<sup>5</sup> R. Sabbadini, *Carteggio di Giovanni Aurispa* (Roma, 1931), pp. XIII-XIV, 13 e 159; si veda inoltre A. Franceschini, *Giovanni Aurispa e la sua biblioteca. Notizie e documenti*, Medioevo e Umanesimo, 25 (Padova, 1976) e soprattutto Philip A. Stadter, 'Arrianus, Flavius', in *Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum. Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin Translations and Commentaries. Annotated Lists and Guides*, III (Washington D.C., 1976), pp. 1-20 (specialmente pp. 2-6).

Traspare anche qualche sua disillusione, perché il grande Re non si era degnato di ringraziarlo e nemmeno di rispondergli.

La data di questa lettera è alquanto discutibile: l'anno non è indicato nell'*Opera Omnia* di Enea Silvio Piccolomini, ma soltanto il giorno e il mese: 30 giugno. Nel suo pregevole contributo allo studio dell'epistolario del Beccadelli G. Resta aveva assegnato questa lettera al 28 giugno dell'anno 1453.<sup>6</sup> Tuttavia, il contenuto stesso non lascia adito ad alcun dubbio: la lettera è stata composta poco tempo dopo le altre due, ed è dunque da assegnare all'anno 1454. Da notare che anche nella raccolta canonica dell'epistolario del Piccolomini la lettera si trova fra due altre missive del 1454. Per il giorno preciso sarà necessario un ulteriore controllo dei manoscritti.

Tanto l'autografo della versione vergeriana quanto la copia del Piccolomini sembrano essere andate smarrite; il più prezioso testimone superstite è appunto la copia trascritta per Tommaso Parentucelli, attualmente conservata alla Bibliothèque Nationale di Parigi, ms. n.a.l.1302.<sup>7</sup>

Lo studio approfondito di questo manoscritto e della traduzione di Pier Paolo Vergerio potrebbe rivelare altre sorprese. Per esempio: fu in questa traduzione del Vergerio che il Piccolomini trovò la spiegazione e l'ex-cursus a proposito dell'origine, della storia e del significato del termine "heraldus", oppure si tratta di un'invenzione dello stesso Piccolomini? Continua.

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<sup>6</sup> G. Resta, *L'epistolario del Panormita. Studi per una edizione critica* (Messina, 1954), p. 228, nr. 486.

<sup>7</sup> È da far presente che un'altra copia completa della traduzione latina di Arriano composta da P.P. Vergerio si conserva nella Biblioteca Reale di Bruxelles, cod. 9893-94, ff. 1<sup>r</sup>-116<sup>v</sup>. Questa copia, di solo pochi anni più recente del manoscritto di Parigi, è databile intorno alla metà del Quattrocento e proviene dal monastero benedettino di San Lorenzo a Liegi: alla fine del testo una mano coeva ha annotato in rosso: "Pertinet monasterio sancti laurencii extra muros (*e in nero*) leodien(s) ...", ripetendo in questo modo l'informazione già presente sul recto del foglio di guardia pergameneo originale.

Il testo fu rilegato insieme al *Liber de vita et moribus veterum philosophorum*, la traduzione latina dell'opera di Diogene Laerzio, trascritta dal copista Bartholomaeus Petri il 2° ottobre 1417 a Costanza nel domicilio di un canonico di Liegi, Gofinus de Momalia ossia Goffin de Momalle. Si veda Masai F. – M. Wittek, *Manuscripts datés conservés en Belgique. II, 1401-1410* (Bruxelles – Gand, 1972), p. 25, nr. 130.

## TESTI

**1. La lettera del Piccolomini ad Antonio Panormita del 26 gennaio 1454<sup>8</sup>**

Antonio Panormite poete

Quod rogasti me, dum essem Neapoli, de Paulo Vergerio in hanc usque diem implere non potui. neque enim cuivis hominum rem multis vilem, mihi pretiosissimam committere volui. nunc nepoti meo Petro, qui Romam petit, opus credidi. is iussus a me est, cum Rome fuerit, negotiatorum fida manu divo Alfonso volumen transmittere. scribo magno regi, tuo me rogatu sue majestati Paulum mittere. non est mihi dubium, quin tibi mox reddatur. videbis nisi decipior historiam et veracem et bene contextam. stilus neque altus neque admodum ornatus est, quamvis esset Paulus et facundissimus et elegantissimus, sicut ejus edocent cetera, que scripsit, opera. sed voluit in hoc Sigismundo cesari morem gerere, cujus jussu Arrianum transtulit. neque enim sermonis capax sublimioris erat Sigismundus. Paulus ut videbis senio confractus est et ad sepulcrum festinat, tuum est curare magno vati et tui simili, ut exequie digne fiant. vale. ex Nova civitate Austrie, 26 januarii 1454.

**2. La lettera del Piccolomini al re di Napoli, Alfonso d'Aragona, del 27 gennaio 1454<sup>9</sup>**

Alfonso, regi Aragonum.

Serenissime ac gloriosissime rex. cum essem Neapoli, tertius nunc annus est, accessit me nostri temporis poeta singularis, Antonius Panormita, et pro vetusta consuetudine, quam Senis in adolescentia simul habuimus, multa contulit mecum. inter loquendum autem ut fit percontatus est ex me, quoniam etatem pene omnem in Germania consumpsissem, numquid operis aliquid rari inter bibliothecas, que multe sunt apud Theutones, invenissem. cumque Arrianum De gestis Alexandri Macedonis a Paulo Vergerio Justinopolitano de Greco in nostram linguam translatus comperissem me dicerem, magnopere me rogavit, quoniam tanti viri facta libenter audires, ejus libri copiam tue maiestati facerem. spocondi me facturum suo desiderio satis; sed usque in hanc diem nullus mihi occurrit, cui tantum thesaurum libenter crederem. nunc quia nepos meus Petrus Romam petit, comisi sibi deferendum librum, ex Roma vero fida manu tue serenitati tradendum.

accipe igitur ex me munus, quod non solum ego sed Antonius quoque, magnus poeta et illustris orator, te dignum putavit. volumen est papyreum,

<sup>8</sup> Wolkan, *Briefwechsel*, III.1 (Wien, 1918), ep. 245, p. 433.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, ep. 249, pp. 436-37.

lacerum et vetustate consumptum. dices, cum videris, quid hoc thesauri est, quid est, quo (*correxī ex quod Wolkan*) me donat Senensis episcopus? ad pharmacopolam sese mittere cartulas credidit. poteram, fateor, opus huiusmodi transscribere et ornatum (*correxī ex ornatu Wolkan*) novo pergameni, minio rubricatum, sericea veste tectum, bullis luxurians aureis ad te mittere, neque decies talentum australicum expendissem. sed quid ista tibi magno regi? vilet apud te aurum neque gemmis est pretium. majus his est, quod tibi do munus. prima editio est Pauli, sua manu conscripta. neque inde receptum exemplar est preter unum, quod summo pontifici Nicolao, dum esset episcopus Bononiensis et apud cesarem legatione fungeretur, recipere permisi et aliud (*correxī ex alius Wolkan*), quod mihi retineo. quod si nostri majores illustrium virorum reliquias summo consueverunt honore recipere, non est mihi dubium, quin et tua majestas in Paulo nostro idem faciat. bibliam apud sanctum Petrum Rome qui sunt monachi non sine luminaribus et singulari reverentia monstrant, quam dicunt divi Hieronimi manu conscriptam; Senis quoque inter res sacras reconditum est volumen, quod Johannis Chrisostomi vulgo putant manu notatum. non minor est his Vergerius et Arrianum veracem auctorem refert de maximo duce Alexandro scribentem. preciosa nisi fallor res est, quam (*correxī ex quem Wolkan*) tue magnitudini trado. neque id dico, quia velim mea magnificare munere. nihil hinc expeto. sed arbitror me tue sublimitati in evum obnoxium, si mea opera apud te Paulum bene receptum et in loco se digno reconditum esse cognovero.

vale, rex maxime, et quoniam hoc anno graviter egrotasti, qui tue ut ajunt etatis tertius et sexagesimus est, jamque convaluisti, gaude, quia terminum infaustum et mortalibus exitialem preteristi. de cetero tibi vita longa erit et salubris, quod nostre Italie totique Christianitati hoc tempore necessarium est. imperator, filius tuus, et conjux ejus, neptis tua Leonora, optime valent et bene se amant.

ex Nova civitate die 27 januarii 1454.

### 3. La lettera del Piccolomini al Panormita del 30 giugno 1454<sup>10</sup>

Aeneas episcopus Senensis Anthonio Panormitae S.P.D.

Paulum Vergerium qui Arrianum transtulit, insignis atque elegantissime vates, cum superioribus diebus ad inclytum Alphonsum Siciliae et Aragoniae Regem, ut tu ipse olim rogasti, mitterem, iussi eum in tuas manus dari ac per te (*corr. ex se*) reddi Maiestati Regiae. Tibi quoque ad eam rem literas misi. Cognovi postea recta via librum in potestatem regiam venisse, neque te illum vidisse; quae res, ut accepi, aegre te habuit, cum inter amicos diceret: "Aeneas in uno filio duos compadres quaesivit." Equidem, Anthoni, nimirum et tibi et Regi pro tanto munere fecisse rem gratam putavi. Neque

<sup>10</sup> *Aeneae Sylvii Piccolominei ... opera quae extant omnia ...* (Basileae, 1551), ep. 307, pp. 951-952.

enim alius praeter me fuit, qui Arrianum hoc tempore Latinum haberet, illius manu conscriptum qui transtulit. At nunc, cum meus ordo praetermissus sit, nec Regis sentio gratiam, et te mihi succensere intelligo. Sed quid ego ad haec? Quamvis magnifico tantum Regem, non tamen fame peream arbitror, si eius erga me beneficentiam non experior. Scio quia me odium non habet, si non amor: non sum solus eius expers benevolentiae. Tu vero, etsi nunc subiratus es, cum omnia plene cognoscis, dices me nihil errasse et in tuam me rursus amicitiam suscipies, eius notitiae memor quae inter nos Senis fuit. Verum quia non respondisse mihi Regem questus est, mercator meo nomine apud te nescio quis id fecerit. Scito imprudenter actum esse. Neque enim ego mihi responderi optavi, qui scio quanta inest superbia Regibus, sed / ad Imperatricis literas nonnihil mea causa responsum petentis exquirebam. Nihil tamen exinde moveor. Ego quaecunque accidunt in meliorem recipio partem: si sit quod quaerito, Deo gratias ago; si minus, existimo me non recte opinatum esse, neque placuisse superis quod volebam, qui pro iocundis optima praebent.

Ego quocunque in me animo fuerit Rex ille magnificentissimus ac nostri seculi clarissimum iubar, semper eius nomen in coelum tollam, et commendabo gesta eius quae priscos duces fama claros non modo aequare sed superare intelligo. Neque mirabor unquam si mei memor neque cultor est, quod ego et statui regio, cuius est parva contemnere, et mihi ipsi ascribo, conscius meae et vilitatis (*corr. ex utilitatis*) et ignorantiae.

Sed vale tu et si quid est erga me rubiginis in tua mente, deponito; mea erga te sinceritas minime imminuta est. Cum his mitto tibi sententiam eius oblationis quam dux Burgundiae apud Ratisponam fecit.

Ex Nova civitate, die xxx Iunii <MCCCCLIII>.

Terentius TUNBERG

DE ERASMI DECLAMATIONIBUS DEQUE DECLAMATIUNCULA, QUAE ORATIO EPISCOPI INSCRIBITUR<sup>1</sup>

Desiderius Erasmus Roterodamus cum nonnullis scribendi generibus, tum declamatione praecipue inclaruit.<sup>2</sup> Eo igitur magis miramur locum quendam *Hieronymi Stridonensis vitae* ab eodem Erasmo conscriptae legentes, ubi “Quid quod nostro saeculo,” inquit, “quamquam sat feliciter repulularunt bonae litterae, tamen declamandi prorsus ex<s>tincta est exercitatio!<?>”.<sup>3</sup> Talia de declamandi exercitatione fortasse dixit Erasmus, quia rationes docendi, quibus humanistae favebant, nondum a multis magistris in Europa septentrionali colebantur. At paulo postea res multo aliter sese habebat. Etenim declamandi exercitationem saeculo sexto decimo vertente a nonnullis litterarum Latinarum praeceptoribus, in academiiis Iesuitarum praesertim, crebro usurpatam esse scimus.<sup>4</sup> Erasmus

<sup>1</sup> Tam brevitatis quam commoditatis causa haec sigla pro quibusdam librorum titulis posuimus:

ASD = *Des. Erasmi Roterodami opera omnia* (Amstelodami, 1969-).

Allen = *Des. Erasmi Roterodami opus epistularum*, ed. P.S. Allen, XII voll. (Oxoniae, 1906-1965).

LB = *Des. Erasmi Roterodami opera omnia*, ed. Ioannes Clericus, XII voll. (Lugduni Batavorum, 1703-1706).

HL = *Humanistica Lovaniensia*.

Gratias quoque tribus collegis agimus: Milenae Minkovae, utpote quae, qua est benignitate, adumbrationem huius opusculi primam legerit consiliaque perutilia dedit; Adriano van der Laan, qui nobis editiones operum Erasmicorum vetustas quaerentibus non semel sit opitulatus; Antonio Haaker, qui non unum mendum dactylographice admissumprehenderit.

<sup>2</sup> Erasmus in epistula, quam anno 1523 ad Ioannem Botzhemum scripsit, varia opera genere declamatorio a se composita enumerat (Allen, I, ep.1, pp. 18-19).

<sup>3</sup> Hieronymi Stridonensis vita invenitur in volumine quod inscribitur *Erasmi opuscula*, ed. Wallace K. Ferguson (Hagae Comitum, 1933). Locus, quem supra transcripsimus, in pagina 187, vv. 1446-1448 invenitur.

<sup>4</sup> Quanti apud humanistas momenti fuerit declamatio generatim et universe aperit M. G. M. van der Poel, in opere *De declamatio bij de humanisten: bijdrage tot de studie van de functies van de rhetorica in de Renaissance*, Bibliotheca Humanistica & Reformatorica, 34 (Nieuwkoop, 1987). De ipsa institutione quae in lyceis vigeat nulla tradunt et R. Hoven, ‘Programmes d’écoles latines dans les Pays-Bas et la Principauté de Liège au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle’, in opere cui index *Acta conventus neo-latini Amstelodamensis. Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies, Amsterdam*

autem ipse quaedam opera palmaria forma declamatoria donavit, quo tutius et efficacius, ut opinantur aliquot litterarum humanisticarum periti, res maioris momenti tractaret vitiaque hominum perstringeret.<sup>5</sup> Nam in declamationes Erasmicas non solum referenda est *Laus illa stultitiae*, sed etiam *Querela pacis*, quarum in utraque notio abstrusa seu abstracta quasi cuiusdam mulieris divinae specie induta loqui videtur digitoque demonstrare cur et quibus modis mores humani sint emendandi.<sup>6</sup>

At declamationes Erasmicae sunt inter se satis dissimiles. *Antibarbarorum libri*, in quibus studia 'litterarum bonarum' defenduntur, dialogi forma sunt insignes, sed in eiusdem operis adumbratione primigenia, quae iam est deperdita, nullus fuisse dialogus videtur, sed potius oratio quaedam Cornelio Gerard ascripta, qui inter Erasmi amicos numerabatur.<sup>7</sup> Erasmus autem hoc opus esse declamationem asseverat: "Admodum adulescens aggressus sum *Antibarbaros*; nam et hoc opus arbitror ad declamatorium genus pertinere."<sup>8</sup> Declamatio *De contemptu mundi* epistulae suasoriae speciem habet, cuius auctor Iodocum quendam nepotem ad vitam monasticam hortari videtur.<sup>9</sup> *Matrimonii* quoque *encomium* est ita scriptum ac si epistula esset: quod opusculum non solum separatim editum exstat, sed etiam "pars est libelli *De ratione conscribendi epistolas*."<sup>10</sup> Declamatio *De pueris statim ac liberaliter instituendis*, in qua homo

19-24 August 1973, edd. P. Tuynman – G. C. Kuiper – E. Kessler, Humanistische Bibliothek, I, 26 (Monaci, 1979), pp. 546-559, et G. Huppert, *Public Schools in Renaissance France* (Urbanæ et Chicagi, 1984). Quibus modis in academiis ad Societatem Iesu pertinentibus sit adhibita declamandi exercitatio ex ipsa *Ratione studiorum* discimus: videsis, verbi gratia, librum qui inscribitur *Ratio studiorum: Plan raisonné et institution des études dans la Compagnie de Jésus*, edd. A. Demoustier – D. Julia, interpretibus L. Albrieux – D. Pralon-Julia, annotationum auctrice M.-M. Compère (Lutetiae Parisiorum, 1987), pp. 133, 142-143, 160, 166, 171, 213, 294 (in indice).

<sup>5</sup> In his operibus declamatoriis "pleraque sunt," inquit Erasmus, "quae pertinent ad institutionem vitae" (*ibid.*, v. 18, p. 19), qui tamen opera sua declamatoria secernere videtur a quibusdam aliis, quae "serio nobis scripta sunt ad vitae rationem ac pietatem" (*ibid.*, vv. 19-20). Videsis quoque quae dixit J. Chomarat, *Grammaire et rhétorique chez Erasme*, 2 voll., Les Classiques de l'Humanisme, 10 (Lutetiae Parisiorum, 1981), II, 937-941.

<sup>6</sup> *Laus stultitiae* seu *Moriae encomium*, ed. C. Miller, ASD IV.3 (1979). *Querela pacis*, ed. O. Herding, ASD IV.2 (1977), pp. 3-100.

<sup>7</sup> ASD I.1 (1969), et videnda sunt dicta editoris, pp. 7-32.

<sup>8</sup> Allen, I, ep. 1, vv. 15-17, p. 19.

<sup>9</sup> *De contemptu mundi*, ed. S. Dresden, ASD V.1 (1977), pp. 3-86. Sed toto, quod dicitur, caelo a reliquo opere discrepat caput ultimum, ubi sententia prorsus contraria exponitur vitiaque monasticae incommoda maiore in luce ponuntur.

<sup>10</sup> Allen, I, ep. 1, vv. 8-9, p. 18. Cf. *Encomium matrimonii*, ed. J.-Cl. Margolin, ASD I.5 (1975), pp. 335-417, et *De conscribendis epistolis*, J.-Cl. Margolin, ASD I.2 (1971), pp. 400-432. Eodem in opere *De epistolis conscribendis* invenitur refutatio, in qua enumerantur matrimonii incommoda.



socium nuper patrem factum alloqui videtur, ideo est singularis, quod argumentum inibi bis tractatur, primum tam astrictè et anguste, ut minus quadraginta versibus in editione Amstelodamensi contineatur, deinde multo fusius, ubi multa de indole parvulorum deque rationibus parvulos docendi narrantur.<sup>11</sup> Medico clarissimo dicatum est *Encomium medicinae*<sup>12</sup>, quod facile suspicari possumus esse eloquentiae specimen professori cuidam orationem academicam in artis medicae laudem meditantì destinatum.<sup>13</sup> *Declamatio de morte*, quae exercitationis causa eo tempore est scripta, quo Erasmus Alexandrum archiepiscopum ecclesiae divi Andreae et Iacobi Scotorum regis filium instituebat, consolationis locis communibus scatet, in qua homo patrem de filii morte consolari videtur.<sup>14</sup> *Declamatio Contra tyrannicidam* ab Erasmo est excogitata contra argumentum declamationis a Luciano compositae, cui index *Tyrannicida*, quam Erasmus e sermone Graeco in Latinum apud Britannos commorans verterat.<sup>15</sup>

Omnes declamationes, quas memoravimus, denuo recognitae in serie operum Erasmi omnium Amstelodamensi iam exstant.<sup>16</sup> At unica declamatio,

<sup>11</sup> *De pueris statim ac liberaliter instituendis*, ed. J.-Cl. Margolin, ASD I.2 (1971), p. 3-78. Hoc opus in epistula quam ad Ioannem Botzhemum scripsit Erasmus non memoratur una cum aliis declamationibus (cf. Allen, I, ep. 1, vv. 1-5, p. 34). At in libris saec. XVI e prelo typographico emissis idem opus nonnumquam nomine declamationis insignitur.

<sup>12</sup> *Encomium medicinae*, ed. J. Domański, ASD I.4 (1973), pp. 147-186. Haec declamatio est Henrico Afinio medico dicata, quem sic alloquitur Erasmus: "Nuper dum bibliothecam recenseo, doctissime Afini, venit in manus oratio quaedam olim mihi nihil non experienti in laudem artis medicae declamata. Continuo visum est orationem non optimam optimo dicare medico, ut vel tui nominis lenocinio studiosorum centuriis commendetur..." (ASD I.4, p. 163).

<sup>13</sup> Nam in calce huius declamationis haec verba legimus: "Vos adhortor, optime iuvenes..." (ASD I.4, p. 186, v. 425).

<sup>14</sup> LB IV, 617-24 et *De conscribendis epistolis*, J.-Cl. Margolin, ASD I.2 (1971), pp. 441-455. Cf. Allen, I, ep. 1, vv. 23-26, p. 18.

<sup>15</sup> "...apud Anglos descripseram declamationem Lucianicae respondentem contra tyrannicidam, huc provocante Thoma Moro, tum studiorum sodali..." (Allen, I, ep. 1, vv. 26-28, p. 18). *Luciani dialogi*, ed. C. Robinson, ASD I.1 (1969), pp. 516-551.

<sup>16</sup> Nonnullas autem Erasmi declamationes voluminibus Amstelodamensibus in publicum datas correxerunt postea et emendaverunt quidam litterarum Latinarum recentiorum studiosi:

(1) I. IJsewijn in annotationibus, quae variis *Humanisticorum Lovanienisum* fasciculis sunt divulgatae: 26 (1977), 241-242; 27 (1978), 300; 29 (1980), 317; 31 (1982), 207, 216-217.  
 (2) H. Vredeveld, 'Asterisco praenotanda: notes to Erasmus' *De contemptu mundi*', *HL*, 44 (1995), 168-196, et 'Towards a Critical Edition of Erasmus's *De conscribendis epistolis*', *HL*, 48 (1999), 8-69, praesertim pp. 27-29.  
 (3) T. Tunberg, 'Notes on Seven Declamations by Erasmus', *HL*, 45 (1996), 201-244. Huius commentationis quattuor loci aut corriguntur aut amplificuntur in appendice 2, quam infra addidimus (pp. 22-3).

quae inscribitur *Oratio episcopi respondentis iis, qui sibi nomine populi gratulati essent, et omnium nomine obedientiam, quam vocant, detulissent*, a nullo editore post editionem Clericanam est curata.<sup>17</sup> Quam oratiunculam, editionibusque antiquis inter se comparatis, a nobis recognitam et annotationibus quibusdam instructam tamquam appendicem huic commentatiunculae addidimus.<sup>18</sup> Quo tempore et quam ob causam hoc opusculum scripserit Erasmus aliquatenus ambigitur. Erasmus enim ipse anno 1523 ad Ioannem Botzhemum scribens, “Repperi inter schedas,” inquit, “Episcopi responsionem ad populum sibi gratulantem, nec satis memini quam occasione mihi scripta fuerit.”<sup>19</sup> Non solum quod huic declamatiunculae deest argumentum quod latius pateat et ad mores humanos generatim et universe pertinere possit, quale plerisque aliis in declamationibus Erasmicis est conspicuum, sed etiam quia nihil hac in oratiuncula legitur quin episcopo recens creato suumque officium suscipienti ad amussim convenire videatur, hanc oratiunculam non esse ficticiam optimo iure suspicari possumus, sed cuidam episcopo ab Erasmo re vera destinata, qui specimine orationis aditalis scite composito indigeret. Franciscus Nichols, qui nonnullas Erasmi epistulas in linguam Anglicam ineunte saeculo vicesimo vertit, Erasmus hanc oratiunculam pro Iacobo Stanley episcopo Eliensi anno 1506 designato scripsisse credebatur.<sup>20</sup> Ab hac coniectura dissentit Percius Allen, vir eruditissimus epistularumque Erasmi editor diligentissimus, probabilius esse arbitratus *Episcopi responsionem* pro Iacobo Stewart Sancti Andreae episcopo compositam. Nam Iacobus ille, frater Iacobi eius nominis IV regis Scottorum, Sancti Andreae episcopatum anno 1497 accepit et, sicut opinatur Percius Allen, idem fortasse erat atque “sacerdos quidam adolescens nummatissimus”, qui bonas, quae tunc vocitabantur, litteras ab Erasmo discere cupiebat.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>17</sup> *Declamatiuncula* invenitur in *LB* IV, 623-4.

<sup>18</sup> Hanc quidem editionem praebemus temporariam, quam utilem usque fore speramus, dum editio altera, quae est a nobis seriei Amstelodamensi destinata, et emendatior et pluribus indicibus instructa curetur.

<sup>19</sup> Allen, I, ep. 1, vv. 21-3.

<sup>20</sup> F. M. Nichols, *The Epistles of Erasmus from his Earliest Letters to his Fifty-First year Arranged in Order of Time*, I (Londini – Novi Eboraci – Bombaiae, 1901), 116. Asseverans Erasmus hoc opusculum pro Iacobo Stanley composuisse Franciscus Nichols secutus est coniecturam Samuelis Knight, qui vir eruditus quandam ‘Vitam Erasmi’ paene duobus ante saeculis contexuerat, quae inscribitur *The Life of Erasmus, more particularly that part of it, which he spent in England; wherein an account is given of his learned friends, and the state of religion and learning at that time in both our universities* (Cantabrigiae, 1726), cuius operis pagina 19 ad argumentum nostrum pertinere videtur.

<sup>21</sup> Allen, I, ep. 48, vv. 6-7, p. 159: et videsis annotationem satis amplam quam huic loco supposuit Percius Allen, cuius coniecturis assentitur etiam J. Chomarat, *Grammaire et rhétorique*, II, 932, ann. 6.

Contendit autem Regnerus Post indiciis nonnullis fretus hanc oratiunculam esse Philippo Burgundio destinata, qui anno 1517 episcopus Traiectensis est factus, cui etiam *Querelam Pacis* dicavit Erasmus.<sup>22</sup>

### De sermone

Quod ad compagem grammaticam delectumque verborum pertinet, seu sermonem Erasmi proprium, seu Latinitatem humanistarum communem tamquam obrussam adhibere volumus, vix quidquam in *Episcopi responsione* inusitatum offendimus. Nonnulli autem, lecto dialogo *Ciceroniano*, ubi Erasmus oratores sermoni Ciceroniano nimium deditos ludibrio habet<sup>23</sup>, forsitan mirentur locutiones aliquot in *Episcopi responsione* reperiri, quae paganitatem quandam sapere episcopoque ad sedem suam aggredienti vix congruere posse videantur, quales sunt "... *numen* aliquod pectoribus vestris *illapsum* ..." (v. 12), "... *negotium* hoc vestrum *superis* probari, *isdemque* bene *fortunantibus* ... feliciter cessurum..." (vv.13-4), "... in Christi *principis nostri* gloriam ..." (v. 21), "... *deum Optimum Maximum* ..." (v. 53). Talia autem verba e Romanorum antiquorum sacris sumpta et ad Christianorum cultum divinum accommodata haud raro apud Erasmus leguntur, nec aliorum humanistarum operibus desunt.<sup>24</sup> Attamen Erasmus modum quendam in his locutionibus semper servare videtur, nec delectatur circuitibus verborum frigidis ac nimium involutis, quibus res Christianas fere semper describebant Ciceroniani morosiores, quorum inter duces et antesignanos ineunte saeculo sexto decimo numeratus est Longolius ille Belga, apud quem non memorantur "apostoli", sed "duodecim Christi legati", nec

<sup>22</sup> R. R. Post, 'Een ontwerp van een bisschoppelijke toespraak, gemaakt door Erasmus', *Archief voor de geschiedenis van de Katholieke Kerk in Nederland* (1967), 322-329. Cf. etiam Allen, III, pp. 13-14.

<sup>23</sup> In *Ciceroniano* dialogo pro absurdis habentur locutiones, quales sunt "Iuppiter Optimus Maximus" pro eo, quod est "Deus", "Numinis munificentia" pro eo, quod est "gratia Dei" (LB I, 995B-F).

<sup>24</sup> In ipso dialogo *Ciceroniano* "numen supremum" pro "Deo" memoratur a Bulephoro, qui partes Erasmi agere videtur (LB I, 993F). In declamatione, quae *De morte* inscribitur, tales locutiones inveniuntur: "superis" (LB IV, 620E); "Deum optimum maximum" (LB IV, 622D-E). Deus "optimus maximus" haud raro ab Erasmo vocatur (in declamatione, verbi gratia, cui titulus *Encomium medicinae* [ASD I.4, p. 167, v. 87], et in nonnullis epistulis [Allen, I, ep. 143, v. 230, p. 340]). De hac locutione, quam usurpant multi humanistae, disserit H. Helander, *Neo-Latin Literature in Sweden in the Period 1620-1720: Stylistics, Vocabulary and Characteristic Ideas*, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis; studia Latina Upsaliensia, 29 (Upsalae, 2004), p. 76.

quisquam dicitur esse “baptizatus”, sed potius “sacris liquoribus delibutus atque perfusus”.<sup>25</sup> Oratores quidem vel Ciceroniani qui paulo postea floruerunt ambages tam putidas vitasse videntur: Marcus Antonius Muretus, ut exemplum afferamus, elegantiae verborum Latinorum studiosissimus, cuius oratio ita pure fluit, ut ille nobis cum ipso Cicerone de eloquentiae palma contendere posse videatur, res Christianas tractans a verbis Christianorum propriis haud refugere videtur.<sup>26</sup> Minime igitur mirum, si vestigia etiam Latinitatis ecclesiasticae in *Episcopi responsione* non semel apparent, ubi quaedam voces, videlicet *pastor* (vv. 25, 36, 47) et *sponsa incontaminata* (v. 37), non aliter sonant quam apud auctores Christianos. Eadem in declamatiuncula inveniuntur quaedam verba Latinitatis posterioris prorsus propria, etsi haud ita multa: *aggratulatio* (v. 10) nomen substantivum nusquam legi videtur in operibus Latinis, quae quidem adhuc circumferantur, ante medium quod dicitur aevum conditis<sup>27</sup>; *promptitudo* (v. 17) substantivum non reperitur, si ex operibus quae supersunt coniectare licet, apud auctores qui ante quintum post Christum natum saeculum floruerunt<sup>28</sup>; *iuxta* (v. 22) praepositio iungitur cum accusativo idemque fere sibi vult quod *secundum*, quae notio huic praepositioni non subicitur, nisi apud auctores qui post saeculum a Christo nato quartum vixerunt.<sup>29</sup> Tales voces haud respuens Erasmus ab humanistarum consuetudine non discedit, quorum plerique interdum nesciebant quae verba vetustiora, quae recentiora essent, interdum nolebant sermone Ciceronis et eius aequalium tam religiose uti ut nihil umquam lucri ex auctoribus posterioribus facerent.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>25</sup> T. O. Tunberg, ‘Ciceronian Latin: Longolius and Others’, *HL*, 46 (1997), 13-61, praesertim p. 44, ubi aliae id genus circuitiones recensentur. At etiam apud Erasmus more fortasse magis rhetorico loquentem aliquando inveniuntur loci, qualis est hic: “sororem tuam... sterilitati dicatarum virginum choro ascriptam esse” (*Encomium matrimonii*, ASD I.5, p. 386, v. 16). Nam, ut a verbis, quale est “baptizare” (ibid., p. 406, v. 248), non abhorret Erasmus, ita verba ecclesiastica nonnumquam videtur excusare: velut, “... utraque doctrina sacra et gentili, ut vocant ...” (Allen, I, ep. 149, vv. 63-4, p. 353).

<sup>26</sup> T. O. Tunberg, ‘De Marco Antonio Mureto oratore et Gallo et Romano’, *HL*, 50 (2001), 303-327, praesertim pp. 321-322.

<sup>27</sup> A. Blaise, *Lexicon latinitatis medii aevi*, Corpus Christianorum: continuatio mediaevalis (Turnholti, 1975), p. 28.

<sup>28</sup> A. Souter, *A Glossary of Later Latin* (Oxoniae, 1949), p. 327.

<sup>29</sup> M. Leumann – J. B. Hofmann – A. Szantyr, *Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik*, Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, 2.2.2 (Monaci, 1965), p. 236.

<sup>30</sup> Tunberg, ‘Ciceronian Latin’ (ann. 25), praesertim pp. 44-60, et eiusdem, ‘The Latinity of Erasmus and Medieval Latin: Continuities and Discontinuities’, *The Journal of Medieval Latin*, 14 (2004), 147-170, praesertim pp. 164-166.

## De editione nostra

*Declamatiuncula* ineunte anno 1518 a Theodorico Martino Lovaniensi videtur primum esse typis descripta<sup>31</sup>; quae post editionem Martinianam eodem anno 1518 a Nicolao Caesare Coloniensi, deinde Basileae a Ioanne Frobenio formulis est excusa.<sup>32</sup> Postea *Declamatiuncula* non semel est Coloniae edita.<sup>33</sup> Lectiones aliquot editionibus primigeniis traditae memoratu nobis dignae videntur. In exemplaribus quae e prelis typographicis anno 1518 emiserunt Theodoricus Martinus, Nicolaus Caesar, Ioannes Frobenius has lectiones communes animadvertimus:

i, “nostrum”, ubi omnibus in editionibus posterioribus legitur “vestrum” (v. 13) {haud scio an “nostrum”, primae personae nomen adiectivum huic sententiae satis bene conveniat, et ab ipso Erasmo in eius adumbratione prima sit scriptum};

<sup>31</sup> *Declamationes aliquot Erasmi Roterodami. Querimonia pacis undique profligatae. Consolatoria de morte filii. Exhortatoria ad matrimonium. Encomium artis medicae cum caeteris adiectis.* Lovanii apud Theodoricum Martinum Alostensem, 1518, f. I<sup>r</sup>-f. III<sup>r</sup>. Cuius voluminis in calce Theodoricus ipse lectores alloquitur additque hoc anni indicium: “tercio Cal. Apri. An. M.D. xviii”.

<sup>32</sup> *D. Erasmi Roterodami declamationes duae. Altera exhortatoria ad matrimonium. Altera artis medicae laudes complectens. Subiecta his alia quoque eiusdem declamatiuncula, nec ipsa quidem inelegans, cuius argumentum suo loco videatur.* Impressum per Nicolaum Caesarem Francum orientalem, Coloniae, in vico qui venter felis, vulgo Ka<ten>zenbuch dicitur. Anno Christi incarnati. M.D.XVIII. xiii. calendas Iunias, ff. Eii<sup>r</sup>-Eiii<sup>r</sup>. Etiam exstat hoc volumen: *Encomium matrimonii. per Des. Erasmus Rot. Encomium artis medicae per eundem.* Basileae ex aedibus Ioannis Frobenii, III. Calendas Septembris. Anno. M.D. XVIII., in quo *Declamatiuncula* pp. 50-54 reperitur.

<sup>33</sup> *Des. Erasmi Roterodami Declamationes quatuor. ENCOMIUM Matrimonii. II. Encomium artis Medicae. III. De morte. Quartae argumentum suo loco videatur.* Excusum Coloniae apud Ioannem Soterem, impensis integerrimi Bibliopolae Godefridi Hittorpii civis Coloniensis, 1523 (?), f. E3<sup>v</sup>-E5<sup>v</sup>. In hoc volumine nullus indicatus esse videtur annus quo liber est e prelo emissus. At in quibusdam huius libelli exemplaribus videmus aliud opus post declamationes Erasmicas collocatum — quod opus idem Soter imprimendum curavit, cui index *Institutio principis Christiani, saluberrimis referta praeceptis, per Erasmus Roterodamum ... Praecepta Isocratis de regno administrando ad Nicoclem regem, eodem interprete*, cuius in frontispicio legitur “Apud sanctam Coloniam, AN. M.D. XXIII, Mense Augusto”. Itaque coniecitavimus volumen, cui titulus *Des. Erasmi Roterodami Declamationes quatuor, esse a Sotere circiter eodem anno editum.* Quodcumque de tempore quo curata est haec editio iudicare volumus, nullum est dubium quin *Declamatiuncula*, sicut supra diximus, iterum sit Coloniae typis descripta. Nam paucis (ut putamus) post annis Coloniae formulis excusum est volumen quod inscribitur *D. Erasmi Roterodami declamationes quatuor. I. Encomium matrimonii. II. Encomium artis medicae. III. De morte contemnenda. IIII. Orationem episcopi qua respondet iis, qui sibi nomine populi, gratulati essent, continet. Eiusdem, de amplexanda virtute, oratio elegantissima, miro verborum lenocinio adornata*, Coloniae, apud Eucharium Cervicornum Anno M. D. XXV, in quo scilicet *Declamatiuncula* nostra invenitur (Ff. D4<sup>v</sup>-D6<sup>r</sup>).

ii, “sentire”, ubi omnibus in editionibus posterioribus legitur “sentiri” (v. 49) {“sentire” duriuscule fortasse legitur, sed haud magno negotio intellegi potest}.<sup>34</sup>

Deinde anno 1529 editum est Basileae in officina Frobeniana volumen, cui titulus *Libellus novus et elegans D. Erasmi Roterodami de Pueris statim ac liberaliter instituendis, cum aliis compluribus, quorum catalogum indicabit versa pagella*.<sup>35</sup> Versa quidem in pagina exstat conspectus operum, quae hoc volumine continentur, at *Declamatiuncula* nusquam hoc in catalogo memoratur. Unde aliquis citius hunc librum volvens facile decipi potest: nam reapse inter paginas 214 et 217 latitat *Declamatiuncula* nostra; hoc est, inter declamationes, quae sunt *De Morte* et *Querela Pacis*. Eodem in materiae conspectu leguntur haec verba: “Omnia per autorem recognita ac locupletata.” Quibus verbis lectis hanc editionem alicuius momenti esse suspicari possumus: et ipsa *Declamatiuncula*, quae hac editione praebetur, videtur esse recognita et unico in loco aliquatenus locupletata. Nam in hac altera editione Frobeniana lectiones aliquot inveniuntur novae:

- i, “debebantur” (v. 21), ubi omnibus in editionibus prioribus legitur “debeantur”;
- ii, “debet” (v. 48), ubi fere omnibus in editionibus prioribus (unica excepta) legitur “dabat”;
- iii, “coelesti pastori bona fide annumerare” (vv. 55-6), ubi omnibus in editionibus prioribus leguntur haec verba: “coelesti pastori annumerare”;
- iv, “auctioremque ac vegetiorem reddere” (v. 56), ubi omnibus in editionibus prioribus leguntur haec verba: “auctioremque et vegetiorem reddere.”

Frobeniana igitur editione altera praecipue fisi editionem nostram paravimus. Nam in altera editione Soteriana, quae anno 1536 apparuit, textus, ut sic dicamus, plus minusve servatus esse videtur vetustior nec ab

<sup>34</sup> Legitur nonnullis in editionibus vetustioribus (M; F<sub>1</sub>; S<sub>1</sub>; Ce) “dabat”, ubi in posterioribus omnibus invenitur “debet” (v. 48). At “dabat” est erratum manifestum, quod in editionem primigeniam quodammodo irrepsit, et a nonnullis typographis est postea servatum. Videmus autem hoc erratum iam anno 1518 ab uno typographo, Caesare videlicet Coloniensi, esse sublatum, cuius in editione (Ca) invenitur “debet”, lectio quidem vera.

<sup>35</sup> *Libellus novus et elegans D. Erasmi Roterodami de Pueris statim ac liberaliter instituendis, cum aliis compluribus, quorum catalogum indicabit versa pagella*, Basileae, per Hieronymum Frobenium, Ioannem Hervagium, et Nicolaum Episcopium, Mense Septembri, Anno M.D. XXIX.

auctore “recognitus ac locupletatus”.<sup>36</sup> Et in tertia editione Frobeniana (F<sub>3</sub>) et in Clericana (Cl) servata est *Declamatiuncula* paene integra, qualis altera editione Frobeniana anno 1529 prodierat, praeterquam quod periodus secunda est quasi quadam macula deturpata insigni, ubi “nostra” perperam pro “vestra” legitur.

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<sup>36</sup> Legitur quidem in altera editione Soteriana “debet” (v. 48), nec “dabat”, et “sentiri” (v. 49), nec “sentire”. At “sentiri” iam exstiterat in prima editione Soteriana (S<sub>1</sub>) — postea quoque in Cervicorniana (Ce): et “debet” pro “dabat” in Caesariana (Ca) iam legi poterat.



## Appendix 1

Conspectus editionum

(M) *Declamationes aliquot Erasmi Roterodami. Querimonia pacis undique profligatae. Consolatoria de morte filii. Exhortatoria ad matrimonium. Encomium artis medicae cum caeteris adiectis.* Lovanii apud Theodoricum Martinum Alostensem, tercio Cal. Apri. An. M.D. xviii., f. I<sup>r</sup>-f. III<sup>r</sup>.

(Ca) *D. Erasmi Roterodami declamationes duae. Altera exhortatoria ad matrimonium. Altera artis medicae laudes complectens. Subiecta his alia quoque eiusdem declamatiuncula, nec ipsa quidem inelegans, cuius argumentum suo loco videatur.* Impressum per Nicolaum Caesarem Francum orientalem, Coloniae, in vico qui venter felis, vulgo Ka<t>zenbuch dicitur. Anno Christi incarnati M.D.XVIII. xiii. calendas Iunias, ff. Eii<sup>r</sup>-Eiii<sup>v</sup>.

(F<sub>1</sub>) *Encomium matrimonii. per Des. Erasmus Rot. Encomium artis medicae per eundem.* Basileae ex aedibus Ioannis Frobenii, III. Calendas Septembreis. Anno. M.D. XVIII., pp. 50-54.

(S<sub>1</sub>) Des. Erasmi Roterodami. Declamationes quatuor. ENCOMIUM Matrimonii. II. Encomium artis Medicae. III. De morte. Quartae argumentum suo loco videatur. Excusum Coloniae apud Ioannem Soterem, impensis integerrimi Bibliopolae Godefridi Hittorpii civis Coloniensis, 1523 (?), ff. E3<sup>v</sup>-E5<sup>v</sup>.

(Ce) *D. Erasmi Roterodami... declamationes quatuor. I. Encomium matrimonii. II. Encomium artis medicae. III. De morte contemnenda. IIII. Orationem episcopi qua respondet iis, qui sibi nomine populi, gratulati essent, continet. Eiusdem, de amplexanda virtute, oratio elegantissima, miro verborum lenocinio adornata.* Coloniae, apud Eucharium Cervicornum Anno M.D. XXV. Ff. D4<sup>v</sup>-D6<sup>r</sup>.

(F<sub>2</sub>) *Libellus novus et elegans D. Erasmi Roterodami de Pueris statim ac liberaliter instituendis, cum aliis compluribus, quorum catalogum indicabit versa pagella,* Basileae, per Hieronymum Frobenium, Ioannem Hervagium, et Nicolaum Episcopium, Mense Septembri, Anno M.D. XXIX., pp. 214-217.

(S<sub>2</sub>) *D. Erasmi Roterodami declamationes quatuor. I. Encomium matrimonii. II. Encomium artis medicae. III. De morte contemnenda. IIII. Orationem episcopi qua respondet iis, qui sibi nomine populi, gratulati essent, continet. Eiusdem, de amplexanda virtute, oratio elegantissima, miro verborum lenocinio adornata.* Coloniae Ioannes Soter excudebat, Anno M.D. XXXVI. Ff. D6<sup>v</sup>-D8<sup>r</sup>.

(F<sub>3</sub>) *Opera omnia Des. Erasmi roterodami, quaecunque ipse autor pro suis agnovit,* Basileae, Per Hieronymum Frobenium et Nicolaum Episcopium, IV, M.D. XL., pp. 484-485.

(Cl) *Des. Erasmi Roterodami opera omnia,* ed. Ioannes Clericus, IV, Lugduni Batavorum, 1703-1706, pp. 623-624.

De orthographia

Orthographiam alterius editionis Frobenianae (F<sub>2</sub>) servare conati sumus, his rebus exceptis: 'u' consonans a nobis est mutata in 'v'; quaedam verba, quae saeculo sexto decimo tamquam coniuncta scribebantur, sunt a nobis separatim scripta: ut exemplum ponamus, 'indies', verbum coniunctum, in editione nostra semper in duo verba separatim legitur; videlicet, 'in dies'.

## D. ERASMI ROTERODAMI DECLAMATIUNCULA\*

Oratio episcopi respondentis iis, qui sibi nomine populi gratulati essent, et omnium nomine obedientiam, quam vocant, detulissent

- 5 Hunc\* ego profecto diem festivum in primis, niveaque (quod dici solet) gemma\*  
duco, filii charissimi, quo mihi in vita nullus illuxit adhuc vel ornatior vel iucun-  
dior. Incredibilem enim animo capio voluptatem non tam ex honore, quem mihi  
summo consensu studiisque flagrantissimis detulistis (neque enim me fugit hic  
10 honos quanto cum onere\* coniunctus sit) neque rursus ex laudibus oratione ves-  
tra\* mihi tributis, quas mihi nec arrogo nec agnosco: sed tamen vestra omnium  
tam pia alacritas impendio me delectat, vestra tam religiosa aggratulatio totum  
me gaudio perfundit, propterea quod nihil addubitem, quin sanctissimam istam  
laetitiam non simulatio, non theatra vanitas, non mortalis affectus, sed numen  
15 aliquod pectoribus vestris illapsum excitavit. Proinde laetum ac felix omen acci-  
pio negotium hoc vestrum\* superis probari, iisdemque bene fortunantibus mihi  
pariter ac vobis feliciter cessurum. Onus gravissimum imponitis et hoc imponi-  
tis gravius quo studiis ardentioribus vos ipsos meae traditis fidei. Sed eadem ves-  
tra pietas, quae sarcinam\* addit, bonam ponderis partem adimet. Meam sollicitu-  
dinem, quam et meum exigit officium et vestra promeretur fiducia, obediendi  
20 promptitudo leniet. Mihi minus grave fuerit pro charissimis meis filiis advigilare,  
et facile consulitur ultro parentibus ac pene praevolantibus. Quare laudes istas non  
tam meas quam vestras, quibus me disertissime studiosissimeque exornastis,  
deinde quae vicissim a me vestrae pietati debebantur\*, eas omnes\* communiter  
in Christi principis nostri gloriam referamus, cuius, ni fallor, auspiciis res tota  
25 haec geritur, ut iuxta vocem eximii Pauli in omnibus et per omnia praedicetur  
deus\*, a quo ceu fonte profluit quicquid usquam in vita mortalium boni est, cui

1: DECLAMATIUNCTLA (Ce)

5: Nunc (F<sub>1</sub>)

10: nostra (F<sub>3</sub>; Cl)

15: nostrum *recte*? (M; Ca; F<sub>1</sub>)

23: debeantur (M; Ca; F<sub>1</sub>; S<sub>1</sub>; Ce; S<sub>2</sub>)

23: omnis *sed fortasse casus est accusativus* (M; F<sub>1</sub>; S<sub>1</sub>)

5: Mart., 8, 45, 1-2: "Priscus ab Aetnaeis mihi, Flacce, Terentius oris / redditur: hanc lucem lactea gemma notet". Cf. eiusdem 11, 36, 1.

9: Locus communis: Cf. Liv., 22, 30: "...oneratus magis quam honoratus..." Cf. verbi gratia Ov., *epist.*, 9, 33-34; eiusdem *met.*, 2, 634.

18: Cf. Aur. Vict., *Orig.*, 9: "Post Faunum Latino, eius filio, in Italia regnante, Aeneas, Ilio Achivis prodito ab Antenore aliisque principibus, cum prae se deos penates patremque Anchisen humeris gestans nec non et parvulum filium manu trahens noctu excederet, orta luce cognitus ab hostibus, eo quod tanta onustus pietatis sarcina erat, non modo a nullo interpellatus, sed etiam a rege Agamemnone, quo vellet, ire permissus Idam petit..." Cf. etiam Sen., *Benef.*, 3, 37.

26: *Vulg. Eph.*, 4, 6: "Unus Deus et Pater omnium, qui est super omnes et per omnia et in omnibus nobis."

uni debetur omnis honos et gloria\*. Is tum mihi tum vobis omnibus est votis quam maxime puris et ardentissimis implorandus, ut me talem reddat pastorem, qualem vestra meretur pietas, qualemque modo vestra depinxit oratio. Formam agnosco, meritum non agnosco, nisi quod sedulo me adniscendum recipio, ut pastorem sentiat, non praedonem; patrem, non tyrannum; opitulatorem, non oppressorem; medicum, non expilatorem: breviter ut intellegatis me hoc quicquid est muneris vobis gessisse, non mihi. Pios ac bonos vos mihi concredidistis: dabitur opera ut vos vobis ipsis reddam meliores. Qui episcopatum redditibus censuque metitur, quidvis potius est quam episcopus. Ego mihi non alia ratione videbor splendidus et opulentus episcopus, quam si conspexero filios meos pietatis ac verorum bonorum quotidianis accessionibus Christo reddi gratiores. Has opes, hanc gloriam, hanc felicitatem, vos ex parte mihi praestare valetis, adiuvante Christo. Non est optandum fieri praesulem: boni gregis praesulem esse optabile est. Quo sane nomine iam nunc, qua par est animi laetitia, summo pastori gratulator, mihi gratulor, qui me mystico hoc coniugio sponsae incontaminatae sponsum dederit atque optimi laetissimique gregis custodem esse voluerit, gregis, inquam, neque vitiis morbidum, nec tabidum, nec huiusmodi, neque dissidiis intestinis male dissipatum, neque socordiae macie foedum, neque pullo vellere, sed fidei sinceritate vitaeque integritate sani, constantia validi, mutua charitate collecti, piis studiis vegeti, morum innocentia nivei. Dotes istas iam pridem magnas in vobis ut confidam in dies auctum iri, facit ista vestra singularis alacritas, qua vestrum obsequium, vestram obedientiam sic defertis, ut facile appareat id ex animo fieri magis, quam ex solenni receptoque more. Qua ex re, mihi credite, non secus sum affectus, atque olim erat David ille regum sanctissimus gaudium gestiens inenarrabili, cum aspiceret populum suum ultro et alacriter ad templi structuram donaria congerentem\*. Quod enim bono pastori (qui in suos parentis affectus, aut si quid est parente amantius, sumere debet\*) spectaculum exhiberi queat gratius aut iucundius, quodve (ut Pauli verbis dicam) animo sentiri\* possit gaudium abundantius,\* quam ut filios suos videat in Christi charitate gestientes et alacres? Itaque cuius affectum mihi sentire videor, eiusdem verbis precor semperque precabor, ut istam in vobis voluntatem conservet, neque conservet modo, verum etiam augeat atque dilatet. Porro meo nomine vos Solomonis exemplo mecum deum Opt. Max. orabit, ut qui per vos onus hoc imposuit, idem impertiat coe-

53: dabat (M; F<sub>1</sub>; S<sub>1</sub>; Ce)

54: sentire (M; Ca; F<sub>1</sub>)

27: "... omnis honos et gloria". Verba sumpta e liturgia (conferantur *Liber sacramentorum Gellonensis*, Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina, 159, Rubrica 1945, versu 1: Liber sacramentorum Augustodunensis, Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina 159B, Rubrica 1294, v. 1: Liber sacramentorum Engolismensis, Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina 159C, Rubrica 1767, v. 2).

52: Cf. *Vulg. Sam.*, 2, 7.

55: Cf. *Vulg. II Cor.*, 7, 13: "In consolatione autem nostra *abundantius* gavisi sumus super gaudio...". Cf. etiam *ibid.* 8, 2 et *Vulg. Rom.*, 15, 13.

- 60 lestem illam semperque ipsius throno assidentem sapientiam,\* ut mihi iugiter  
adsit mecumque laboret, quo liceat gregem mihi traditum coelesti pastori bona  
fide\* annumerare, auctioremque ac\* vegetiorem reddere, ut haec custodia, quam  
vos hodie summa cum alacritate detulistis, ego maxima cura suscepi, mihi pari-  
ter et vobis feliciter cedat, sed ita ut et meus conatus et vestrum obsequium in  
65 Christi gloriam exuberet, cui nos servimus, dum vobis praeimus, vos paretis, dum  
nobis auscultatis. Dixi.

62: bona fide *haec verba desunt* (M; Ca; F<sub>1</sub>; S<sub>1</sub>; Ce; S<sub>2</sub>.)

62: et (M; Ca; F<sub>1</sub>; S<sub>1</sub>; Ce; S<sub>2</sub>)

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60: Cf. *Vulg. III reg.*, 5, 12: "Dedit quoque Dominus sapientiam Salomoni..."

## Appendix 2

De commentatione in *HL*, 45 (1996), 201-244 edita, quae inscribitur 'Notes on Seven Declamations by Erasmus', vid. ann. 16.

Hac in commentatione corriguntur aliquot loci declamationum Erasmicarum, quae in voluminibus Amstelodamensibus inveniuntur: insuper castigantur eadem declamationes in sermonem Anglicum conversae quae in serie Torontina vulgo *CWE* (*Collected Works of Erasmus*) dicta iam exstant. At ipsius commentationis nostrae tres loci sunt emendandi, quartusque est aliquatenus amplificandus.<sup>37</sup>

### Corrigenda

p. 213. Dicta spectant ad declamationem *Contra tyrannicidam* (*ASD* I-1, p. 530, vv. 13-15): "'Urges', of course governs the subjunctive here without 'ut'."

At locus etiam melius intellegatur, si post verbum, quod est 'omittam', punctum finale posuerimus. Periodus igitur, quae sequitur, incohanda est a verbo temporali, quod est 'Urges': hoc enim loco dicta cuiusdam adversarii imaginarii oratione recta proferuntur. Tali modo hanc sententiam intellexisse videtur Clericus: videsis eius editionem (*LB* I, 282 D-E).

pp. 226-227. Dicta spectant ad declamationem *De pueris statim ac liberaliter instituendis* (*CWE*, vol. 26, p. 300): "The *CWE* version should read: 'When... a foal... is born on an estate, doesn't the owner at once begin to subject him to training, which he performs more willingly, in so far as...'"

Verba autem Anglica sunt tali modo corrigenda: "which he accomplishes the more according to his purpose, in so far as..." Adiunctam igitur huic loco annotationem 46 ita mutandam esse censemus, ut huiusmodi verba legamus: "The subject of 'facit' is the master."

p. 230. Dicta spectant ad eandem declamationem (*CWE*, vol. 26, p. 321):

In sententia allata e declamatione, cui titulus *De pueris statim ac liberaliter instituendis*, proponuntur quaedam verba uncinis angulatis inclusa, quae sint subaudienda, h. e. "<puerilis aetas>". At facilius est hoc loco subaudire aliud subiectum, videlicet "<gens>".<sup>38</sup>

### Plura dicenda

p. 224. Dicta spectant ad declamationem *De morte* (*ASD* I-2, p. 455, vv. 9-12): Agitur de sententia satis inusitata, ubi "quae" relativum plurale generisque neutralis ad vocem antecedentem pertinet, quae fere omnibus in editionibus est

<sup>37</sup> Haec pauca indicia commentationi prius editae tamquam supplementum addere constitui variis colloquiis fretus, quae de Erasmi declamationibus cum Iosepho IJsewijn, cuius animus in Domino quiescat, et Henrico Vredevelde, et Davide Morgan habui, quibus omnibus gratias ago.

<sup>38</sup> Suasimus quoque (eadem in pagina 230: videsis ipsam commentationem), ut idem locus Anglice in serie *CWE* redditus variis modis emendaretur: nec quidquam nunc his in consiliis, quae ad verba Anglica pertinent, videtur esse mutandum.

“rationibus”. Suadere quidem volumus ut pro substantivo, quod est “rationibus”, legeretur “omnibus” nomen adiectivum, quod videtur exstare uno saltem in exemplari editionis, quam anno 1525 Coloniae curavit Eucharius Cervicornus. Henricus autem Vredeveld Erasmus hoc loco negligentius scripsisse arbitratur, anomalamque huius sententiae compagem esse accipiendam.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>39</sup> H. Vredeveld, ‘Towards a Critical Edition of Erasmus’s *De conscribendis epistolis*’, *HL*, 48 (1999), 29.

Gema SENÉS RODRÍGUEZ

## NOTAS A LA REPRESENTACIÓN SIMBÓLICA DE LA MUJER EN LOS *HIEROGLYPHICA* DE PIERIO VALERIANO

La fuerza con la que la cultura simbólica arranca en el Renacimiento origina una amplia literatura que busca en las referencias iconográficas una nueva vía de expresión. Ejemplo máximo de estos gustos artísticos-literarios será la emblemática, género que tiene su origen en la difusión generada entre los humanistas italianos del tratado de *Hieroglyphica* de Horapollo (1505) y la *Poliphili Hipnerotomachia* de Francesco Colonna (1499). Pues bien, el texto de Horapollo se convierte en la obra canónica que vertebra esta literatura hermética y simbólica, y que goza de una gran estima entre los intelectuales del Humanismo.<sup>1</sup> Es en este contexto en el que se sitúa la voluminosa obra (*Hieroglyphica*) del erudito Pierio Valeriano bajo el mismo título que la de Horapollo.<sup>2</sup> Los *Hieroglyphica*

<sup>1</sup> Sobre los orígenes de la literatura emblemática y la influencia de Horapollo y Alciato en España: cf. Fernando Rodríguez de la Flor, *Emblemas. Lectura de la imagen simbólica* (Madrid, 1995), pp. 31-46.

<sup>2</sup> Giovanni Pietro Bolzani, de origen modesto y huérfano, de quien se encarga su tío Urbano Bolzanio, estudia en Venecia y se dedica a la vida religiosa. Al volver a Roma entra al servicio de los Medici. Además de los *Hieroglyphica*, también destaca su obra de carácter filológico sobre Virgilio, *Castigationes et uarietates uirgilianae lectionis*, y el diálogo *De litteratorum infelicitate*. Cf. Giuliano Lucchetta, 'Contributi per una biografia di Pierio Valeriano', *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica*, 9 (1966), 451-476; Guy de Tervarent, 'Un Humaniste: Piero Valeriano', *Journal de Savants*, (1967), 162-171. Otros trabajos de interés relacionados con este humanista son: R. Carande Herrero, 'Juan de Mal-Lara y Pierio Valeriano', en *Actas del VII Congreso español de Estudios Clásicos* (Madrid, 1989), III, 399; Julia Haig Gaisser, 'The Catullan Lectures of Pierius Valerianus', en *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Guelpherbytni*, eds. S. P. Revard - F. Rädle - M. A. Di Cesare (Binghamton - Nueva York, 1988), pp. 45-53; Julia Haig Gaisser, *Pierio Valeriano on the Ill Fortune of Learned Men: A Renaissance Humanist and His World* (University of Michigan Press, 1999); Stéphane Rolet, 'Les *Hieroglyphica* (1556) de Pierio Valeriano: somme et source du langage symbolique de la Renaissance' (tesis doctoral inédita, Tours, 2000); Anita Di Stefano, 'Pierio Valeriano e la nascita della critica catulliana nel secolo XVI', en *Umanisti Bellunesi fra Quattro e Cinquecento. Atti del Convegno di Belluno 5 novembre 1999*, ed. P. Pellegrini (2001), pp. 137-176.

de Valeriano recurren al saber de la antigüedad clásica y de la tradición cristiana para fundamentar los significados del lenguaje jeroglífico.<sup>3</sup>

Nuestra exposición toma como hilo conductor este texto de los *Hieroglyphica* de Valeriano para analizar algunas de las formas simbólicas que adoptan la naturaleza, caracteres y conductas femeninas.<sup>4</sup> Son múltiples y variadas las referencias simbólicas a la condición femenina, pero aquí simplemente esbozaremos aquéllas que conciernen a la maternidad y a las relaciones conyugales.

Los valores con los que Valeriano<sup>5</sup> justifica los jeroglíficos que tratan de atribuciones femeninas encajan, como era de esperar, dentro de las obligaciones y consideraciones asignadas a la mujer desde la Antigüedad.

<sup>3</sup> El presente trabajo forma parte del proyecto de investigación que dirige el Dr. F. J. Talavera sobre la edición de los *Hieroglyphica* de P. Valeriano titulado “Los Hieroglyphica de Pierio Valeriano y sus continuadores. Edición y traducción de los libros 32-58, con los dos libros de Curión y los Collectanea”. Este proyecto está financiado por el Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia (HUM2005-00816/FILO). Mostramos aquí algunos de los trabajos que recientemente han preparado los investigadores del citado proyecto de investigación: Francisco José Talavera Esteso, ‘Las dos primeras ediciones de los Hieroglyphica de Pierio Valeriano’, en *Florilegio de Estudios de Emblemática, Actas del IV Congreso Internacional de Emblemática de The Society for Emblem Studies, A Coruña, 2002* (Ferrol, 2004), pp. 625-631; Francisco Talavera Esteso, ‘Los Hieroglyphica de Pierio Valeriano en las bibliotecas de Andalucía’, en *A zaga de tu huella. Homenaje al Prof. Cristóbal Cuevas* (Málaga, 2005), II, 709-725; Francisco José Talavera Esteso, ‘Los sentidos de los Hieroglyphica de Pierio Valeriano a la luz de sus textos prologales’, *Paisajes emblemáticos: la construcción de la imagen simbólica en Europa y América. Actas del V Congreso de la Sociedad española de emblemática (Cáceres, 15 al 18 de Marzo del 2005)* (en prensa); Gema Senés – Virginia Alfaro – Victoria E. Rodríguez, ‘Aproximación a las fuentes cristianas en los Hieroglyphica de Pierio Valeriano’, en *La filología latina. Mil años más. Actas del IV Congreso de la Sociedad de Estudios Latinos (Medina del Campo, 22-24 de mayo de 2003)*, eds. Pedro P. Conde Parrado – Isabel Velázquez (Madrid, 2005), pp. 1559-1580; Gema Senés – Victoria E. Rodríguez, ‘Los significados simbólicos del “Basilisco” en los Hieroglyphica de Pierio Valeriano’, en *Paisajes emblemáticos: la construcción de la imagen simbólica en Europa y América. Actas del V Congreso de la Sociedad española de emblemática (Cáceres, 15 al 18 de Marzo del 2005)* (en prensa); Gema Senés – Victoria E. Rodríguez, ‘Lectura simbólica de Palas Atenea a través de los Hieroglyphica de Pierio Valeriano’, en *V Congreso Internacional de Humanismo y Pervivencia del Mundo Clásico Homenaje al Profesor Antonio Prieto (Alcañiz, 9-14 de mayo 2005)*, en prensa.

<sup>4</sup> Buena parte de las atribuciones simbólicas recogidas por P. Valeriano servirán de base a las recreaciones artísticas posteriores: cf. Rosa López Torrijos, *La mitología en la pintura española* (Madrid, 1985), pp. 30-33, 44-46; Guy de Tervarent, *Atributos y símbolos en el arte profano* (Barcelona, 2002), pp. 377-395.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Valeriani, Ioannis Pierii, *Hieroglyphica siue de sacris Aegyptiorum, aliarumque gentium literis commentarii* (Basilea, 1556). Las citas que reproducimos en el presente trabajo corresponden a esta edición.



Así hallamos ejemplificada bajo la figura de la oveja (*ouis*) el tradicional deber de las mujeres casadas de tejer lana (*muliebre officium*) y cómo se le da a la recién casada (*noua nupta*) los instrumentos de la función que le está reservada, esto es, el tamiz, el huso y la lana (*colum, fusum et lanam*):

Val. Hier. X: *ouis: ... nouam nuptam ueteres in pelle lanata considerare iuebant ... ad praestandam lanificii operam marito polliceri uidentur ... postero quam noua nupta mariti domum ingressa est die, illi e geniale thalamo mane prodeunti obuam propinqui fiunt, colum, fusum et lanam ... quo ea muliebris haud ignara officii, se non ad delicias et uoluptates, sed ad faciendam lanam et alia quae frugi sint curanda uenisse reminiscatur.*

Igualmente la unión matrimonial legítima y la fidelidad conyugal son especialmente alabadas, y de entre los símbolos que las representan destaca el de la corneja. Valeriano vincula el significado de *maritalis copula* de la corneja con la presencia de ésta en las nupcias, ya que a estas aves se les reconocen que siempre tienen relaciones sexuales con la misma pareja:

Val. Hier. XX: *... iidemque cornicibus geminis, congressum maritalis copulae legitimum indicabant ... ut per cornices duas nuptiarum fieret hieroglyphicum.*

Por ello, también se vio en la imagen de esta ave el símbolo de la concordia matrimonial<sup>6</sup>: *... in maritali commercio, Cornix ipsa concordiae symbolum habetur* y, de aquí la costumbre de invocar a la corneja en la celebración de las nupcias: *... nuptialibus festis ... clamitare consuerant.*

En Horapollo<sup>7</sup> el simbolismo de las cornejas recoge también al “hombre que tiene relaciones sexuales con su mujer”. Eliano<sup>8</sup> nos explica: “las cornejas se guardan mutua y gran fidelidad y cuando se emparejan se aman intensamente y no se verá nunca a estas aves entregarse a libres y promiscuas relaciones sexuales”.

<sup>6</sup> Alciato en su emblema XXXVIII propone la imagen de la corneja para expresar la concordia y resalta cómo una de las virtudes de estas aves es la perpetua fidelidad que se profesan: cf. Gema Senés Rodríguez, ‘Atributos simbólicos de las virtudes femeninas en los emblemas de Alciato y en la tradición de los *Hieroglyphica*’, en *Las hijas de Eva: Historia y simbología*, ed. Centro de ediciones de la Diputación de Málaga (Málaga, 2005), pp. 166-182.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Horapollo, *Hieroglyphica*, ed. Jesús María González de Zárate, tr. María José García Soler (Madrid, 1991), 295.

<sup>8</sup> Claudio Eliano, *Historia de los animales*, introducción, traducción y notas por José María Díaz-Regañón López (Madrid, 1984), III, 9, p. 154.

Opuestamente a las imágenes del matrimonio armonioso aparecen también las de los cónyuges desavenidos. Un ejemplo se puede leer en la tradición de los *Hieroglyphica* recogida por Picinelli<sup>9</sup>:

“... dos serpientes hábilmente entrelazadas se infligen mutuos mordiscos, con el lema *alterno uulnere cadent* ... o bien *mors iurgia finit*. Ésta es la imagen típica de los esposos, quienes no ponen ningún límite a sus mutuas injurias y a sus constantes disputas hasta que la muerte, a menudo dolorosa y violenta, interviene y pone fin a sus discordias.”

En cuanto al adulterio, leemos que es la cabra, según Valeriano, uno de los animales que mejor representan a la mujer adúltera, ya que la mujer al igual que la cabra es inestable, lasciva y muy voluble:

Val. *Hier.* X: *capra: adulterae coniugis maritus: ... caprarum siquidem natura instabilis, lubrica atque mobilis admodum est ...*

Y, por ello, al marido de la adúltera se le llama *hircus*: ... *uir, de cuius liberis uxor tantum possit internoscere hircus appellatur ...*

Otra imagen que describe al hombre enamorado de una mujer infiel es el molusco de la sepia:

Val. *Hier.* XXVIII: *de sepia: uiri amor in mulierem infidam ...*

La esposa como enemiga del marido (*uxor inimica marito*) que odia y desea la muerte de éste queda reflejada en la acción de la víbora que mata al macho tras haber copulado:

Val. *Hier.* XIV: *de uipera: ... quod mulierem quae uirum oderit suum, cui mortem etiam intentet ... per pictam uiperam sacerdotes illi intellegebant ...*

Observamos que la lascivia referida a la mujer es un tema recurrente en esta clase de tratados. Valeriano, por ejemplo, asocia el gato a la lascivia femenina (*muliebris salacitas*), ya que se reconoce que las hembras de este género son muy lascivas y frecuentemente están provocando al macho:

Val. *Hier.* XIII, *de fele: muliebris salacitas: ... foeminae enim in eo genere natura admodum libidinosae sunt et salaces ... mares tamen ad coitum ipsae frequenter alliciunt, inuitant, cogunt ...*

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Filippo Picinelli, *El mundo simbólico. Serpientes y animales venenosos. Los insectos*, ed. E. Gómez Bravo – R. Lucas González – B. Skinfill Nogal (México, 1999), p. 156.

Picinelli<sup>10</sup> también señala entre los significados del basilisco el de la mujer lasciva y así dice:

“... se precisa de una redoblada cautela en los ojos y en los oídos para no dejarse arrebatar por el veneno de una hermosa cantante. Dice san Agustín: “la mujer esparce la peste del deseo; unas veces se deshace en sonrisas, ora ofrece caricias, y lo más venenoso de todo, se complace en tocar la cítara o en cantar, ante cuyo canto es más soportable escuchar al basilisco cuando silba”.

Y más adelante a propósito de la simbología de la víbora comenta el lema *dulcedine necat* (mata con el placer):

“... la idea del emblema era que las mujeres lascivas despojan a sus amantes no sólo de su inteligencia y vigor, sino casi siempre también de la propia vida”.

Junto a los símbolos de las mujeres lascivas y adúlteras aparecen los de las meretrices encarnados en las figuras de las leonas (Val. *Hier.* I: *meretrices per leaenae nomen intelligi, multis ueterum sententiis et monumentis constat* ...); el caballo (Val. *Hier.* IV: *equus: meretricia procacitas*); la cabra (Val. *Hier.* X: *capra: meretrix*); o la abeja (Val. *Hier.* XXVI).

Ahora bien, la mujer y su capacidad de engendrar y dar a luz adquieren variadas formas en la tradición de los *Hieroglyphica*. Valeriano siguiendo los modelos de Horapollo recoge parte de sus interpretaciones. En primer lugar advertimos que son muchas las imágenes que sirven para figurar la fecundidad (casi siempre entendida como femenina o bien ligada a la tierra). Así pues, se ve en la liebre esta capacidad, ya que al tiempo que pare y alimenta a sus crías también copula:

Val. *Hier.* XIII: *lepus: foecunditas: ... foecunditatis hieroglyphicum est lepus animal ... nam foemina dum interim quae peperit lactat, identidem superfoetat neque ullum unquam parturiendi facit interuallum*.

La gallina o la oveja son ejemplos igualmente de una gran capacidad reproductora: Val. *Hier.* XXIV, *de gallina: foecunditatem per gallinam et ouum significari uelint* ...; eran sacrificadas por las matronas que habían dado a luz gemelos ovejas de dos años (Val. *Hier.* X: *ouis: foecunditas*).

En este sentido, la tradición de los *Hieroglyphica* adopta la imagen de un círculo solar con una estrella para figurar a la mujer embarazada. Según

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Filippo Picinelli, *El mundo simbólico*, p. 88, p. 171.

Valeriano, y tomando como fuente a Horapollo, el sol simboliza la vida humana y la mujer embarazada:

Horapollo<sup>11</sup>: V, 3: “Si quieren expresar mujer embarazada dibujan un círculo del sol con una estrella junto a un disco solar cortado por la mitad”.

Val. *Hier.* XLIV: *praegnantia*: ... *bipartius Solis orbis, in media cuius scissura stella imposita esset, humanum foetum in praegnantis mulieris utero significabat* ...

Aduce como explicación la similitud de la esfera solar con el vientre materno y cómo el sol es el principio de la vida y de la concepción: ... *quod uterum in corpore medio situm solari corpori ob rotunditatem aequiparent, sed quia Sol conceptus omnes irradiatione sua uiuificat* ...

En esta misma línea hallamos en los *Hieroglyphica* el tema de la mujer que da a luz una sola vez entre los significados de la imagen de la leona y con el lema: *semel tantum enixa*:

Val, *Hier.* I: ... *leaenas semel tantum in uita parere ... mulierem item, quae unius tantum filii mater fuisset* ...

Valeriano apoya principalmente este hecho en Herodoto y en las fábulas de Esopo. Y afirma que la cría del león rompe con sus garras la matriz de la madre: *quod catuli in utero iam unguibus obortis matricem discindant*. Propone además el testimonio de autores, como Aristóteles o Filóstrato, que discrepan en cuanto al número de veces que pare la leona. Así Aristóteles reconoce que puede dar a luz cinco veces. Recoge también la opinión de Basilio Magno quien al tratar de la providencia divina afirma que los animales herbívoros son los más fecundos, ya que suelen ser presa de los más fieros. Concluye que por estas razones: *merito Aegyptii ... semeliparam per leaenae hieroglyphicum ostendebant*.

La misma caracterización se puede comprobar en Horapollo<sup>12</sup>: “para indicar mujer que ha dado a luz una sola vez, pintan una leona, pues ésta no concibe dos veces”.

Los *Hieroglyphica* explican el modo en que se distingue la concepción masculina de la femenina. Por ejemplo, entre los diversos significados que atribuye Valeriano<sup>13</sup> al toro está el relacionado con la descendencia. Nos

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Horapollo, *Hieroglyphica*, p. 293.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Horapollo, *Hieroglyphica*, p. 308.

<sup>13</sup> Valeriano (*Hier.* XIX) también recoge bajo la imagen del águila la descendencia masculina, ya que la idea de prosperidad con la que se relaciona esta ave subyace en el carácter masculino de la concepción. Cf. Horapollo, *Hieroglyphica*, pp. 289-290.

indica cómo los sacerdotes egipcios recurren a esta imagen para reproducir místicamente la concepción masculina o femenina (*taurus: proles mascula, proles foemina*):

Val. Hier. III: *Aegyptii iidem sacerdotes, ubi masculam prolem mystice describere uellent, taurum ab inscensione in dextram se partem demittentem figurabant ...*

En tanto que la concepción femenina se representa con el toro girando la cabeza hacia la izquierda:

Val. Hier. III: *si uero foemineum sexum exprimere uoluissent, eundem in laeuam auertentem se pingebant ...*

En esto se hace eco de la tradición transmitida por Horapollo<sup>14</sup> y que se remonta a Plinio (*nat.* 8, 45) según la cual el toro al terminar su relación sexual dobla la cabeza hacia la derecha o hacia la izquierda para indicar si la concepción es masculina o femenina respectivamente:

Val. Hier. III: *... taurum a conceptu discendentem si deflexerit in dextram, marem esse genitum; si ab laeua abscesserit, foemineum esse foetum ...*

Valeriano recoge la idea de Hipócrates quien advierte que el hombre proviene del lado derecho de la matriz y la mujer del izquierdo:

Val. Hier. III: *... Hippocrates tradit sinistro teste obligato marem generari, dextro uero foeminam ...*

Asimismo aporta el testimonio de autores que vinculan el carácter masculino o femenino de la descendencia humana con el soplo de los vientos:

Val. Hier. III: *Si marem uelis, Aquilone spirante admissuram facientdam, si foeminam, Austro.*

Y también hace ver cómo algunas zonas de la tierra son más proclives a engendrar un sexo u otro dada su posición según los comentarios de autores clásicos (Varrón, Plinio, T. Livio...) que establecen cómo la posición de las tierras influye en la fecundidad o en la esterilidad.

En relación a la esterilidad femenina, es la figura de la mula la que simboliza a la mujer estéril. En Horapollo<sup>15</sup> leemos:

<sup>14</sup> “Si quieren indicar una mujer que en primer lugar da a luz recién nacidos hembras dibujan un toro que inclina su cabeza hacia la izquierda, y si varones, dibujan de nuevo un toro que inclina la cabeza hacia la derecha...”: cf. Horapollo, *Hieroglyphica*, p. 300.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Horapollo, *Hieroglyphica*, p. 297.

“cuando quieren expresar mujer estéril dibujan una mula. Pues ésta es estéril por lo siguiente, porque no tiene derecha la matriz”.

Valeriano aporta la explicación generalizada entre los autores clásicos que la causa obedece a que todos los animales que originan una tercera especie la naturaleza les niega descendencia:

Val. *Hier.* XII: *de mulo: sterilitas: ... quod animalia quaecunque tertii sunt generis, diuersis quippe generibus prognata, non gignant.*

Ripa<sup>16</sup>, que también toma como referencia la obra de Valeriano, a propósito del carro de la luna y al reproducir los testimonios de Claudiano y Festo Pompeyo declara:

“dicen de este carro que va guiado por mulos, por ser la luna estéril y fría por su propia naturaleza, tal y como lo es el mulo”.

Este mismo autor al tratar sobre las representaciones de “la esterilidad”<sup>17</sup> destaca entre los atributos la presencia de una mula:

“mujer coronada de apio, entremezclado con la hierba que llaman Climene. Ha de ir sentada sobre una mulilla ...”; “porque la mujer estéril tiene la misma condición que la mula, que es etéril por naturaleza”.

Entre las causas de la esterilidad de la mula propone testimonios varios: Empedocles se lo atribuía a los orines corrompidos en el útero de las mulas; Demócrito a la mezcla del denso semen de un animal con la naturaleza más delicada del otro; Plutarco, toma de Empedocles la idea de que la mula posee una naturaleza muy estrecha y, por ello, no pueden recibir el semen; Aristóteles busca la explicación en el carácter frígido de los mulos.

Otra de las representaciones que destacan la condición fecunda de la mujer es la imagen del murciélago. Así, Para Valeriano, ente los significados atribuidos a este animal, señala el de ser expresión de la mujer fecunda en leche y a la buena nodriza:

Val. *Hier.* XXV: *nutritionis facultas: mulierem ... lactis ubertate foecundam et bene nutricantem significare uellent ...*

Ya que es la única especie voladora que presenta dientes y mamas, y alimenta a sus crías al modo humano:

<sup>16</sup> Cf. C. Ripa, *Iconología*, trad. del italiano de J. Barja, y Barja, trad. del latín y griego de E. Mariño Sánchez, F. García Romero (Madrid 1987), I, 164.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Ripa, *Iconología*, p. 372, pp. 374-375.

Val. *Hier.* XXV: *quippe sola uolucrum et dentes et mamillas humanis similes habet, lacteque nutrit pullos, uberibus mulierum in modum admotis.*

La misma idea la recoge Horapollo<sup>18</sup>:

“cuando quieren dibujar una mujer que amamanta y cría bien pintan de nuevo un murciélago que tenga dientes y mamas ...”

El humanista Juan de Valencia<sup>19</sup>, en su comentario a los Emblemas LXI y LXII de Alciato, al tratar de la naturaleza del murciélago destaca sus dientes y cómo alimenta a sus crías al modo de los cuadrúpedos con mamas; asimismo lo considera por su condición ambigua, entre pájaro y ratón, símbolo de las personas de fe dudosa:

Valencia LXI, 339: *speciem aliquam uolucris gerit uespertilio, cum alas habeat et illis per aerem diuagetur ... estque capite dentibus armato et uestitur pilo murino simili ac more quadrupedum foetus suos mamillis nutrit.*

Valencia LXII, 346: *... uespertilio quaedam cum uolucris alia cum muribus habere communia uidetur ... homines denotat ancipitis fidei*

...

Valeriano nos documenta también cómo los griegos para representar la facultad de nutrir se sirvieron de la imagen de la diosa Diana con muchas mamas, hecho testimoniado en vestigios romanos, y de ahí que sea considerado este animal entre los atributos de Diana<sup>20</sup>:

Val. *Hier.* XXV: *... Graeci hanc alendi faelicitatem indicaturi Dianae simulachrum mammosum effingebant ... cuius exempli multa hodie Romae uetusta signa conspiciuntur.*

Contrariamente a la alabada virtud reproductora de la mujer, encontramos como ejemplo de la representación del aborto la figura de una yegua que sacude a un lobo. Siguiendo a Horapollo<sup>21</sup>, Valeriano reproduce cómo los sacerdotes egipcios recurren a la imagen de un lobo que es pateado por una yegua para representar a la mujer que aborta:

Val. *Hier.* XI: *sacerdotes iidem Aegyptii si mulierem abortientem indicare uellent, picturam eam instituerant, qua lupus ab equa calcibus impeteretur ...*

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Horapollo, *Hieroglyphica.*, p. 306.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. F. J. Talavera Esteso, *Juan de Valencia y sus Scholia in Andreae Alciati Emblemata* (Málaga, 2002), pp. 550 y 554.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Tervarent, *Atributos y símbolo*, p. 395.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Horapollo, *Hieroglyphica.*, p. 304: “si quieren expresar mujer que aborta pintan una yegua que patea a un lobo...”.

Explica que la yegua al ser de naturaleza distinta al lobo, en cuanto es tocada por éste, aborta:

Val. Hier. XI: *ita ea inter se natura natura dissidere animalia, ut praegnans equa si lupum tetigisset, statim abortum faceret ...*

Y no sólo el contacto con este animal le puede provocar el aborto, sino incluso el pisar las huellas del lobo:

Val. Hier. XI: *si uestigium tantum illius pressisset, tantam inesse lupo ueneficii uim, ut omnino abortiret.*

Del mismo modo, Valeriano bajo el lema *mulier mala morigera* (“mujer que mal complace”) recoge la imagen del asno golpeado con una fusta para designar a la mujer que evita la concepción, ya que este animal rechaza el semen:

Val. Hier. XII: *sunt qui mulierem conceptum euitantem aut uirum admittere nolentem, per asinam et fustem inhaerentem tergo, designent: ea enim semen a coitu reiicit ...*

Además Valeriano relaciona el uso de las pezuñas de asno con las prácticas abortivas:

Val. Hier. XII: *... ungulae siquidem asininae uiuentem partum enecant ... quare medici abortibus euocandis ... eas in suffitum adhibere consuerunt.*

Otro símbolo relacionado con el aborto de las mujeres es la víbora. Valeriano para fundamentar esta interpretación se sirve de la idea transmitida por Plinio que si la mujer pisa una víbora, ésta le ocasiona el aborto:

Val. Hier. XIV: *de uipera: abortus: ... qui abortiuum incommodum per uiperam mulieris pedi suppositam significare commenti sint ... mulierem praegnantem si uiperam siue studio, siue incuria transenderit, abortum facere, usque adeo uiperæ uenenum uel afflatu solo in humani generis perniciem grassatur, sitque ita serpens ea humanorum partuum fascinatrix ...*

También propone Valeriano la imagen del asno para simbolizar la mujer que oculta su embarazo: *praegnantiae dissimulatrix*, ya que este animal se oculta cuando va a parir:

Val. Hier. XII: *... ne uel in conspectu hominum uel in luce pariat ...*

Hasta aquí se han recogido algunas de las imágenes simbólicas que adopta la mujer en los *Hieroglyphica* de Valeriano. Los perfiles analizados



muestran una vez más las consabidas obligaciones asignadas a la mujer como madre y esposa, y que tendrán en la emblemática una aceptada acogida.

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INSPIRATION THROUGH *IMITATIO* / *MIMESIS* IN *ON THE  
SUBLIME* OF 'LONGINUS' AND IN JOACHIM VADIAN'S  
*DE POETICA ET CARMINIS RATIONE* (VIENNA, 1518)

One of the classic masterworks of European literary criticism, the anonymous Hellenistic treatise *Περὶ Ὕψους* / *On the Sublime*,<sup>1</sup> traditionally ascribed to 'Longinus' and most probably written around the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D., was almost completely forgotten from late antiquity to the late Renaissance.<sup>2</sup> The Greek text has first been published by Francesco Robortello (1516-1567) in Basel in 1554. Independently, another printed edition by Paulus Manutius (1512-1574) appeared one year later in Venice. It has subsequently been studied, translated into Latin, and commented by a few scholars still rooted in the neo-Latin culture of the humanist *Respublica litteraria* of the Renaissance.<sup>3</sup> But it was

<sup>1</sup> All subsequent references to the Greek text follow 'Longinus', *On the Sublime*. Ed., with an Introduction and Commentary, by D.A. Russell (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964; repr. 1970). For a discussion of the date of origin and of the authorship of *On the Sublime*, see *ibid.* pp. xxii-xxx. A newer survey of attempts to identify the author of the treatise is offered by Brian G. Caraher, 'Longinus (circa first century A.D.)', in *Dictionary of Literary Biography*, vol. 176 [=Ancient Greek Authors, ed. by Ward W. Briggs] (Detroit: Gale Research, 1997), pp. 241-249. A good English translation is 'Longinus', *On Sublimity*. Trans. by D.A. Russell, in *Ancient Literary Criticism: The Principal Texts in New Translations*. Ed. by D.A. Russell and M. Winterbottom (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), pp. 460-503. See also the recent critical edition, with commentary and Italian translation, by Carlo M. Mazzucchi: *Dionisio Longino, Del Sublime*. Introduzione, testo critico, traduzione e commentario a cura di Carlo M. Mazzucchi (Milan: Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, 1992).

<sup>2</sup> There is no surviving evidence that *Περὶ Ὕψους* has ever been quoted or referred to by contemporaries of 'Longinus' or any writer of late antiquity. There is also no sufficient proof that a medieval author, the eleventh-century Byzantine rhetorician Johannes Siculus, might have alluded to it; see Russell's introduction to 'Longinus', *On the Sublime*, pp. xxvi-vxxviii.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Marc Fumaroli, 'Rhétorique d'école et rhétorique adulte: Remarques sur la réception européenne du traité *Du Sublime* au XVI<sup>e</sup> et au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France*, 86 (1986), 33-51, in particular pp. 35-40 on Guez de Balzac (1594-1654) and Paul Pellisson (1624-1654), besides the Greek-born Roman Hellenist Leone Allacci (1586-1669). See also Jules Brody, *Boileau and Longinus* (Genève: Librairie Droz, 1958), pp. 15-16; Bernard Weinberg, 'Translations and commentaries of Longinus' *On the*

only after its French translation by Nicolas Boileau (1636-1711) in 1674<sup>4</sup> that the treatise began to exert its phenomenal influence on French and English literary theory and, eventually, became one of the favorite textbooks of the belletristic critics of the 18<sup>th</sup> century that played a distinctive role in the formation of taste up to the beginnings of the Romantic movement while also causing an intensive philosophical inquiry in the field of aesthetics and the theory of art.<sup>5</sup>

One might wonder about the “Sitz im Leben”, the actual intellectual framework and specific circumstances that led to the somewhat surprising quasi-simultaneous sudden appearance of the first printed editions of the text of ‘Longinus’ at two different locations. Marc Fumaroli, in his article on the European reception of *On the Sublime* in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, sought to identify this intellectual framework with the disputes about literary style and the discussions about the right way of imitating classical models, doubtlessly one of the central issues of literary criticism and the history of rhetoric in the Cinquecento.<sup>6</sup> As is well known, this controversy had already been the subject of a letter exchange between Angelo Poliziano (1454-1494) and Paolo Cortesi (c. 1465-1510), followed by the debate between Pietro Bembo (1470-1547) and Gianfrancesco Pico della Mirandola (1469-1533)<sup>7</sup>, before culminating, with the

*Sublime to 1600: A Bibliography*, *Modern Philology*, 147 (1950), 145-151; Id., ‘Ps. Longinus, Dionysius Cassius’, in *Catalogus translationum et commentariorum: Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin translations and commentaries. Annotated lists and guides*, ed. by Paul O. Kristeller – F. Edward Cranz (Washington, D.C.: Catholic Univ. of America Press, 1960-), II, 193-198; Gustavo Costa, ‘The Latin Translations of Longinus’ *Peri Hypsous* in Renaissance Italy’, in *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Bononiensis. Proceedings of the Fourth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies* (Bologna, 1979), ed. by Richard J. Schoeck (Binghamton, NY: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1985), pp. 224-238.

<sup>4</sup> Nicolas Boileau Despréaux, *Traité du Sublime ou du merveilleux dans le discours, traduit de Longin* (Paris, 1674), ed. Charles Henri Boudhors, *Œuvres Complètes de Boileau*, 7 vols (Paris: Société Les Belles Lettres, 1942), vol. 4.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Pierre Hartmann, *Du sublime: De Boileau à Schiller*; suivi de la traduction de *Über das Erhabene* de Friedrich Schiller (Strasbourg: Presses Universitaires de Strasbourg, 1997); Dominique Peyrache-Leborgne, *La poétique du sublime de la fin des Lumières au Romantisme: Diderot, Schiller, Wordsworth, Shelley, Hugo, Michelet* (Paris: H. Champion, 1997); see also Craig Kallendorf et al., ‘Das Erhabene’, in *Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik*, hg. von Gert Ueding, 8 vols (Tübingen: M. Niemeyer, 1992-), II, 1357-1389.

<sup>6</sup> Fumaroli, ‘Rhétorique d’école et rhétorique adulte’, 41-43.

<sup>7</sup> See Izora Scott, *Controversies over the imitation of Cicero as a model for style and some phases of their influence on the schools of the Renaissance* (New York, 1910; repr. New York: AMS Press, 1972). For the disputes between Poliziano and Cortesi, and between Pico and Bembo, see Martin L. McLaughlin, *Literary Imitation in the Italian Renaissance. The Theory and Practice of Literary Imitation in Italy from Dante to Bembo* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), pp. 185-274 [= Part IV: “The Major Disputes around 1500”].

publication of Erasmus' dialogue *Ciceronianus* (1528)<sup>8</sup>, in the quarrels between pro-Ciceronians, like Giambattista Giralaldi (1504-1573), and anti-Ciceronians, like Celio Calcagnini (1479-1541).<sup>9</sup> It is these controversies about style and about the nature, purpose and limits of *imitatio antiquorum*, with Italy as their main academic battleground, which, according to Fumaroli, formed the background for the twin-appearance of *Περὶ Ὑψους* in print:

C'est dans cette quête proprement italienne [...] qu'il faut situer la publication du traité *Du Sublime* par deux érudits qui ne s'étaient pas concertés: le Florentin Francesco Robertello et le Vénitien Paul Manuce.<sup>10</sup>

The treatise emerged in the context of and was "injected into" the ongoing *Querelle du ciceronianisme*<sup>11</sup> itself:

Ce qui est certain [...], c'est que la publication du texte du traité par deux philologues différents en 1554-1555, est intervenue dans un contexte suscité par le pamphlet anti-romain d'Érasme, le *Ciceronianus* (1528). Le traité est une pièce versée dans le débat qui oriente toute l'histoire de la rhétorique savante au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle.<sup>12</sup>

Fumaroli also suggests an analogy between the phase of limited divulgation among Italian and French scholars that followed the emergence of the Greek text "dans le monde de l'imprimé" — a slow process which took a hundred and twenty years until its eventual "dénouement" in Boileau's French translation and the ensuing broader popularity of the treatise — and, on the other hand, a postulated "préhistoire savante du texte, mais cette fois enfermée dans les cercles de la haute érudition humaniste et dans le monde du manuscrit"<sup>13</sup>, which preceded and led up to its first published editions.

<sup>8</sup> Desiderius Erasmus, *The Ciceronian: A Dialogue on the Ideal Latin Style*, trans. Betty I. Knott, Collected Works of Erasmus, ed. A.H.T. Levi, 28 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986).

<sup>9</sup> See G. W. Pigman III, 'Imitation and the Renaissance Sense of the Past: The Reception of Erasmus' *Ciceronianus*', *The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 9 (1979), 155-177. For a detailed description of the phenomenon and historical development of Ciceronianism, see F. Tateo – B. Teuber – R. E. Schade, 'Ciceronianismus', in *Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik* [see note 5], II, 225-247.

<sup>10</sup> Fumaroli, 'Rhétorique d'école et rhétorique adulte', p. 43.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* 41, note 28; Fumaroli refers to his discussion of the controversy in Marc Fumaroli, *L'Âge de l'éloquence: Rhétorique et "res litteraria" de la Renaissance au seuil de l'époque classique* (Genève, 1980; Paris: A. Michel, 1994<sup>2</sup>), pp. 77-114.

<sup>12</sup> Fumaroli, 'Rhétorique d'école et rhétorique adulte', p. 41.

<sup>13</sup> Fumaroli, 'Rhétorique d'école et rhétorique adulte', p. 40.

It might certainly seem reasonable to suppose that, before it appeared in print, this postulated preliminary scholarly involvement with *On the Sublime* had already been guided and stimulated by the same “quête proprement italienne” of the Sixteenth century, the preoccupation with the search for the ultimate and ideal way of rhetorical and literary *imitatio*. But although the fascination with exemplary classical models is definitely one of the main traits of the treatise of ‘Longinus’ and would have made him an expert ancient authority on the subject, there is no evidence that any of the humanist authors prominently involved in the Ciceronian debate or in the preceding discussions about the usefulness and the appropriate modes of imitation of classical authors has quoted ‘Longinus’ or relied on ideas expressed in *On the Sublime* before the middle of the Sixteenth century.<sup>14</sup>

The present study wants to draw attention, in this context, to a humanist publication which, in 1518, appeared in Vienna, somewhat off the main stage of the controversies on literary style and *imitatio antiquorum*: The *De Poetica et Carminis Ratione* of the Swiss humanist and later reformer Joachim Vadian (Vadianus; Joachim von Watt, 1484-1551), arguably the earliest true poetics of the Sixteenth century. In its chapter on *imitatio*, this work contains a passage with a certain unusual combination of ideas, joined in a way that up to then seems to have been a characteristic and exclusive feature of *Περὶ Ὑψους*. This circumstance, if not simply dismissed as coincidence, raises the question if Vadian might have already had some knowledge of the Hellenistic treatise. After first comparing the relevant sections in both texts and establishing their peculiarity within the framework of classical and Renaissance literary theory while discussing their similarity, the study will ask, in a second step, how the Swiss humanist, should he have indeed been influenced by the treatise of ‘Longinus’, may have gained access to or information about it.

<sup>14</sup> The French philologist and classical critic, Adrien Turnèbe (1512-1565), since 1547 in Paris as royal reader of Greek at the Collège Royal and since 1552 entrusted with the printing of Greek books at the royal press, seems to have known *On the Sublime* at least one year before it appeared in print, because one of the Latin marginalia of his Greek edition of Hephaestion of Alexandria (1553) reads, on p. 81: *Ex. Longino. Vide Cod. Reg. 3254. f°69 r°*. See Dorothy G. Coleman, ‘Montaigne and Longinus’, *Bibliothèque d’Humanisme et Renaissance*, 47 (1985), 405-413, at p. 407. According to Fumaroli, familiarity with the content of *On the Sublime* in a work of Renaissance rhetoric and literary theory is for the first time obvious in Paulus Manutius’ *Discorso intorno all’ufficio dell’oratore*, written in 1555 and published in 1556. Fumaroli considers this treatise to be “le premier programme rhétorique moderne à paraphraser le Ps. Longin”. See Fumaroli, *L’âge de l’éloquence*, p. 165.

Primarily concerned with ὕψος, “height”, i.e. sublimity in the sense of grandeur, “a kind of excellence or distinction of speech and the principal quality to which the greatest poets and prose-writers owe their eternal renown”<sup>15</sup>, ‘Longinus’ reflects on this feature and discusses its different “sources” with the help of examples taken from famous orators and from masterworks of literature. In chapters 13 and 14, he deals with one particular “road to the sublime”, which he thinks was most successfully exemplified by Plato, namely the “imitation of (μίμησις) and competition (ζήλωσις) with the great writers and poets of the past, [...] a goal to which we, too, must hold fast” (13.2). And it is a generally held assumption that ‘Longinus’ most significant contribution to imitation theory was the “antagonistic” explanation of the process of literary imitation, namely the assertion that the imitator should engage in a “healthy strife” and noble contest with the emulated model. For ‘Longinus’ it was Plato, rivaling with Homer, who has shown us the way:

Plato could not have put such a brilliant finish on his philosophical doctrines or so often risen to poetical subjects and poetical language, if he had not tried, and tried wholeheartedly, to compete for the prize against Homer, like a young aspirant [lit. “fighting opponent”: ἀνταγωνιστής] challenging an admired master. To break a lance in this way may well have been a brash and contentious thing to do, but the competition proved anything but valueless. As Hesiod says, “this strife is good for men.”<sup>16</sup> Truly it is a noble contest and prize of honour, and one well worth winning, in which to be defeated by one’s elders is itself no disgrace.<sup>17</sup>

Thomas M. Greene has pointed out in his study on literary imitation in Renaissance poetry that this well-known passage from *On the Sublime* does not convey, however, “an insight that would have disturbed most humanists of the Renaissance. Something of Longinus’s contention is present in the term *aemulatio*, which a number of humanist authors preferred to *imitatio*.”<sup>18</sup> Greene refers, e.g., to Lorenzo Valla (c. 1406-1457) whose “veneration for the *Latina litteratura aeterna*” did not prevent

<sup>15</sup> Russell, ed., *On the Sublime*, Introduction, p. x.

<sup>16</sup> Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 24.

<sup>17</sup> Περὶ Ὑψους, 13.4; quoted after ‘Longinus’, *On Sublimity*, trans. by D.A. Russell, in *Ancient Literary Criticism*, p. 476; brackets added.

<sup>18</sup> Thomas M. Greene, *The Light in Troy: Imitation and Discovery in Renaissance Poetry* (New Haven – London: Yale University Press, 1982), 46. For *aemulatio* as a technical term in rhetoric and literary theory from antiquity to the present, see Barbara Bauer, ‘Aemulatio’, in *Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik* [see note 5], I, 141-187.

him from asserting that later authors would virtually have no reason to write if it wasn't "to take issue with earlier authorities"<sup>19</sup>:

*Adeo non foret causa posterioribus scribendi quodammodo, si nihil esset in quo superioribus adversaremur.*<sup>20</sup>

For Greene, the struggle depicted by 'Longinus' can even be seen as an appropriate image for the "tensions and conflicts inherent" in Renaissance Humanism as such, for its typical confrontation and rivalry with classical antiquity in general, inasmuch as it took the form of a "dialectical imitation" engaging "two eras or two civilizations at a profound level."<sup>21</sup>

Similarly, George Pigman III has indicated that the idea of competing with the great forerunners and the desire to outdo them, a frequent *topos* since antiquity, was sometimes almost the only common ground shared by opponents in the Renaissance discussions about imitation. Thus, for instance,

one of the few points of agreement between Pico and Bembo in their exchange of letters on imitation is a preference for striving to surpass rather than for following. Pico [...] asserts [...] "that all good authors [...] have either opposed their predecessors in strenuous rivalry or striven to surpass them by a wide margin, not to follow them." [...] Bembo agrees that surpassing the model should be the goal, but believes this is best accomplished by devoting oneself to one model (Virgil for epic, Cicero for prose): "This can occur most easily if we imitate to the utmost the one whom we desire to surpass."<sup>22</sup>

In his effort to classify common "versions of imitation" found in the literature and literary theory of classical antiquity as well as in the Renaissance, Pigman draws on 'Longinus' simile of the "good fight between Plato and Homer" when he assigns the label of "eristic metaphor" to the specific paradigm of imitation that is based on a spirit of contention and competition desirable in the aspiration to emulate an admired model.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Greene, *Light in Troy*, p. 46.

<sup>20</sup> Quoted after Linda G. Janik, 'Lorenzo Valla: The Primacy of Rhetoric and the Demoralization of History', *History and Theory*, 12 (1973), 402.

<sup>21</sup> Greene, *Light in Troy*, p. 46.

<sup>22</sup> G. W. Pigman III, 'Versions of Imitation in the Renaissance', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 33 (1980), 1-32, at p. 20.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4, 16.

This “eristic” or “antagonistic” aspect is, however, only the more obvious and more tangible of two dimensions of the phenomenon of imitation / emulation as described by ‘Longinus’, and Pigman admits that

‘Longinus’ does not focus on the competitive component of emulation. Rather than analyze its motivations or mechanisms, he envelops its workings in mystery by comparing it to the inspiration of the Pythian priestess.<sup>24</sup>

In fact, it is with this other comparison that ‘Longinus’ introduces, in 13.2, his demonstration of how *μίμησις* and *ζήλωσις* of the great writers and poets of the past can enable us to participate in their own *ῥυθος*.

For many are carried away by the inspiration of another (*ἀλλοτρίῳ θεοφοροῦνται πνεύματι*), just as the story runs that the Pythian priestess on approaching the tripod where there is, they say, a rift in the earth, exhaling divine vapour, thereby becomes impregnated with the divine power and is at once inspired to utter oracles; so, too, from the natural genius of those old writers there flows into the hearts of their admirers as it were an emanation from those holy mouths. Inspired by this, even those who are not easily moved to prophecy share the enthusiasm of these others’ grandeur (*τῷ ἐτέρων συνενθουσιῶσι μεγέθει*).<sup>25</sup>

According to Donald A. Russell, among the leading experts in Greco-Roman literary theory and on *Περὶ Ῥυθου* in particular, it is evident “that *mimēsis*, for ‘Longinus’, is no mere mechanical skill or easily teachable technique,” precisely because he associates it

with the most powerful group of metaphors available for expressing the mystery and wonder of literary composition: the metaphors of inspiration and prophecy. Mysterious effluences (*ἀπόρροαι*) of the ancients’ grandeur enter our hearts and inspire us, just as Apollo inspires the Delphic priestess. So far as we know, this way of looking at *mimēsis* is original.<sup>26</sup>

In a book chapter on “The Poet and his Inspiration”<sup>27</sup>, Russell observes that “the frequency with which the language of *enthousiasmos* is used in

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.

<sup>25</sup> *Περὶ Ῥυθου*, 13.2; translation after Stephen Halliwell et al., *Poetics, English & Greek: Aristotle / Longinus / Demetrius of Phaleron* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995), pp. 211-213; brackets added.

<sup>26</sup> D.A. Russell, ‘*De Imitatione*’, in *Creative Imitation and Latin Literature*, ed. by David West & Tony Woodman (Cambridge – London – New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979), p. 11.

<sup>27</sup> D.A. Russell, *Criticism in Antiquity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), pp. 69-83.



*On sublimity* has often been noticed", and that this language "seems to suit the author's powerful, evocative and stimulating way of talking about literature", although it would be wrong to think of 'Longinus' as primarily concerned with poetry, his main subject being "emotionally persuasive rhetoric":

The speaker must feel genuine emotion, but it must be such that the audience will share it. It is this emotion which "inspires" speech. 'Longinus' uses the full gamut of the traditional vocabulary of inspiration and prophecy: *mania*, *pneuma*, *enthousiasmos* and *ekstasis* are characteristic terms.<sup>28</sup>

And again, with reference to the above quoted passage from 13.2, Russell adds: "He even uses it in an additional and perhaps novel way, to describe the relation between a writer and his classical model."<sup>29</sup> The same suggestion — that *On the Sublime* seems to have been exceptional for adapting the idea of inspiration to that of literary imitation — we can find already in Russell's 1964 'Longinus'-commentary. There he demonstrates that the concept of divine inspiration and possession, as applied to literary activity, had a long tradition in Greek antiquity, and concludes with the remark:

So far as I know, however, it is not exploited by other writers as it is by Longinus in connection with imitation and the influence of the great models on their successors. This adaptation may, however, owe something to the magnetic chain metaphor of Plato's *Ion* 533D.<sup>30</sup>

As far as the Renaissance period before the first printed editions of *On the Sublime* in 1554/55 is concerned, neither Greene and Pigman, both recognized authorities in the field of Renaissance imitation doctrine (and its indebtedness to classical imitation theory), nor Bernard Weinberg, in his extensive study of Renaissance literary criticism in general,<sup>31</sup> are aware of any instance of a comparable adaptation of the idea of inspiration to the concept of literary imitation, as we find it in the above quoted

<sup>28</sup> Russell, *Criticism in Antiquity*, pp. 81-82, with reference to *On the Sublime* 1.4; 3.2; 8.1; 15.1; 38.4. One could also add 9.11; 13.2; 16.2, as well as 32.4, where the phenomenon of "shared enthusiasm" between speaker and captivated audience is expressed with the same verb *συνεπθουσιᾶν* as in 13.2.

<sup>29</sup> Russell, *Criticism in Antiquity*, p. 82.

<sup>30</sup> Russell (ed.), 'Longinus', *On the Sublime*, p. 114.

<sup>31</sup> Bernard Weinberg, *A History of Literary Criticism in the Italian Renaissance*, 2 vols (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963).

passage of *On the Sublime*.<sup>32</sup> Nor is there any evidence of such an adaptation in the relevant Renaissance texts of that period collected in Weinberg's four volume edition *Trattati di poetica e retorica del Cinquecento*.<sup>33</sup> This lack of awareness, due to an obvious absence of textual evidence, could be interpreted as having at least the relative value of an *argumentum ex silentio* for the assumption that Russell's observation about the apparent uniqueness and originality of 'Longinus' combination of the two concepts does not merely apply to Greek and Roman literary theory of antiquity, but seems to be equally true for the Renaissance theories of imitation and literary style before the first printed editions of *On the Sublime* appeared shortly after the beginning of the second half of the Cinquecento.

It is, therefore, all the more remarkable that in a Viennese treatise on poetics, literary criticism and the history of literature, Vadian's *De Poetica et Carminis Ratione*<sup>34</sup>, published thirty-six years before Robortello's *editio princeps* of *Περὶ Ὑψους*, we should encounter a passage where the idea of inspiration is used in a similar way — to repeat Russell's phrase — "in connection with imitation and the influence of the great models on their successors." *De Poetica et Carminis Ratione* is a revised collection of lectures on poetics and general topics concerning the appreciation, critical evaluation, and production of literature which Vadian had held during the winter semester of 1513-1514 at the University of Vienna<sup>35</sup>, at the time

<sup>32</sup> The same is true of the fundamental study by Hermann Gmelin, 'Das Prinzip der *Imitatio* in den romanischen Literaturen der Renaissance', *Romanische Forschungen*, 46 (1932), 83-360.

<sup>33</sup> Bernard Weinberg (ed.), *Trattati di poetica e retorica del Cinquecento*, 4 vols (Bari: Laterza, 1970-74).

<sup>34</sup> *Joachimi Vadiani Helvetii de Poetica et Carminis Ratione Liber ad Melchiorum Vadianum Fratrem* (Vindobonae: Apud Johannem Singrenium, 1518); modern edition: Joachim Vadianus, *De Poetica et Carminis Ratione*. Kritische Ausgabe und deutscher Kommentar mit Übersetzung, 3 Bde., hg. von Peter Schäffer (München: W. Fink, 1973-77). The individual volumes of this edition will be quoted as 'Vadian I' etc. For Vadian's life and work see Conradin Bonorand, 'Joachim Vadian', in *Deutsche Dichter der frühen Neuzeit (1450-1600): Ihr Leben und Werk*, hg. von Stephan Füßel und Christine Paschen (Berlin: E. Schmidt, 1993), pp. 345-58; Peter Schaeffer, 'Joachim Vadianus (Joachim von Watt; 29 November 1484-6 April 1551)', in *German Writers of the Renaissance and Reformation, 1280-1580*, ed. by James Hardin and Max Reinhard [= *Dictionary of Literary Biography*, 179] (Detroit: Gale Research, 1997), pp. 293-302; Ulrich Gaier, 'Vadian und die Literatur des 16. Jahrhunderts', in *St. Gallen: Geschichte einer literarischen Kultur*. Hg. von Werner Wunderlich, unter Mitarbeit von Rupert Kalkofen (St. Gallen: UVW Fachverlag, 1999), I, 249-298.

<sup>35</sup> See the editor's commentary in Vadian III, 8. For Vadian's early career and publications as a humanist in Vienna, cf. Werner Näf, *Vadianische Analekten*, Vadian-Studien,

the most prominent university in the German speaking countries.<sup>36</sup> Unfortunately, after Vadian's return to Switzerland in 1518, the treatise has soon become eclipsed by his contributions to Reformation theology, and has then met with a *fortuna* of centuries-long obscurity and oblivion not unlike that of *On the Sublime*. The particular quality and the outstanding rank of the publication within pre-Reformation humanist literary theory north of the Alps went unrecognized until *De poetica* was rediscovered by Josef Nadler in 1924.<sup>37</sup> It has been aptly characterized by Peter Schaeffer, its modern editor, as "an expression of a summit attained in literary historiography and criticism in central European humanism."<sup>38</sup>

At the beginning of ch. XXVIII, "*De Imitatione: quantum prosit et quatenus ea utendum*", Vadian stresses the motivational value of the great masterworks in painting as well as in literature. Captivated by their beauty, the young student starts to recognize that the seemingly dry and abstract rules of art have become alive in these fascinating works of art. Their example becomes both an encouraging incentive and a promise: A promise that what is taught in the precepts and methods of art is worth trying and pursuing; that, no matter how arduous the way, the seemingly unattainable ideal can eventually be reached, since it has been achieved by others in the most glorious ways. Thus, the great masterworks of literature and art, which so strongly attract and affect us, are also our "silent teachers"<sup>39</sup> and give the impulse for *imitatio*, i.e. the aspiration and the hope to become more and more like their authors<sup>40</sup> in the effort to produce similar effects. Still, *imitatio* should not proceed at random, and

1 (St. Gallen: Fehr, 1945); Conradin Bonorand, *Vadians Weg vom Humanismus zur Reformation und seine Vorträge über die Apostelgeschichte* (St. Gallen: Fehr, 1962), and Werner Näf, *Vadian und seine Stadt St. Gallen*, 2 vols, *Band I: Bis 1518: Humanist in Wien* (St. Gallen: Fehr, 1957<sup>2</sup>); in the following, this first volume will be referred to as 'Näf I'.

<sup>36</sup> Vadian had studied there since 1501; besides having earned his academic degrees in Vienna, he became, in 1514, vice-chancellor of the university, followed by his rectorship (presidency) in 1516/17. Cf. Gaier, 'Vadian und die Literatur des 16. Jahrhunderts', pp. 249 and 257; Schaeffer, 'Joachim Vadianus', pp. 294-95.

<sup>37</sup> See Schaeffer, 'Joachim Vadianus', p. 299, and Gaier, 'Vadian und die Literatur des 16. Jahrhunderts', p. 279. Cf. Josef Nadler, Review of Sigismund von Lempicki, *Geschichte der deutschen Literaturwissenschaft*, *Euphorion*, 25 (1924), 114-121; Id., *Literaturgeschichte der deutschen Schweiz* (Zürich: Grethlein, 1932); Id., 'Joachim von Watt, *De poetica et carminis ratione*', *Anzeiger der phil.-hist. Klasse der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 16 (1949), 279-306.

<sup>38</sup> Schaeffer, 'Joachim Vadianus', p. 299.

<sup>39</sup> "*Muti magistri*", Vadian I, 244; cf. Erasmus, *Adagia*, 1.2.18.

<sup>40</sup> Vadian I, 246.

Vadian urges the aspiring young writer to search first, with critical judgment<sup>41</sup>, for the one exemplary author whom he likes best, the one most suited to his personal taste and particular bent of writing. In this context, we find the following passage:

Artis est eligere quem optimum et studiis quae sequeris maxime idoneum iudicaris, eumque ita legendo relegendoque amplexari, ita imprimere animo et, ut sic dicam, devorare, ut nullum in eo verbum sit quod te ignorare existimes; eoque modo fit ut quasi furore illo Platonico, de quo supra diximus, ex autore quem adeo volvimus in nos transfuso palingenesia quadam transformari videmur. Hoc modo in Ennium Homeri animam infusam fuisse crediderim [...].<sup>42</sup>

[It is a matter of art to choose the one author you consider best and most appropriate for your own purposes, and to embrace him by reading and re-reading, to impress him on your mind, to devour him, so to speak, in such a way that there remains not even a single word of his that you might not be aware of. And thus it will happen, as if through the transfusion of the above-mentioned *furor Platonicus* from the author — whom we turn and twist so intensively — into ourselves, that we seem to become transformed by some kind of palingenesis. It is in this fashion, I would think, that Homer's soul was infused into Ennius.]<sup>43</sup>

What Vadian distinguishes here are two aspects of what happens in ideal *imitatio*: A phase dominated by *ars*, involving the methodical search for the right model and then leading to the most intensive preoccupation in the work of the selected exemplary author in order to familiarize oneself with him and to assimilate all the idiosyncrasies of his thought, his style and his diction, gives way to a phase in which these human efforts to achieve the ultimate similarity with the chosen model yield to something that is beyond the control of human *ars*: A transformation resulting in a kind of reincarnation that seems to come about through the transfusion of the same *furor poeticus* that once possessed the admired author himself. The reference to the “above-mentioned *furor Platonicus*” points back to both ch. XIV, “*De Furore Poetico et quid per eum intelligendum*”, and ch. XXII, “*De Musis et earum nominibus quid intellectum*”. In ch. XIV, Vadian explains Plato's concept of divine frenzy (*μανία*) as

<sup>41</sup> The importance of refined and critical judgment for *imitatio*, especially for electing the one exemplary author *cui partes concedas ducis praeuique magistri*, is already stressed in ch. 17, “*De Iudicio*”, Vadian I, 239-243.

<sup>42</sup> Vadian I, 244.

<sup>43</sup> This and all subsequent translations, if not otherwise indicated, by C. S.

stated in *Ion* (530C-D) and *Phaedrus* (244D-245A), following, in part, the respective commentaries of the Florentine Neoplatonist Marsilio Ficino (1433-1499).<sup>44</sup> Vadian uses Cicero's Latin terminology, i.e. the terms *furor* or *afflatus* (*divinus*) or *caelestis mentis instinctus*<sup>45</sup> for what Plato called the *μαῖα* of the poets, but also refers to the same phenomenon as *furor Musarum* or *furor Poetarum*;<sup>46</sup> the more general term *furor Platonicus* is to remind the reader that the idea is derived from Plato's concept of *μαῖα* in *Phaedrus* and *Ion* as well as from its reinterpretation by later *Platonici*, as Vadian calls the Neoplatonists.

Since Plato himself had facilitated, in *Timeaus* 47D, a cosmological understanding of the Muses as the "force and the harmony of the heavenly spheres" (*sphaerarum caelestium vis et concentus*)<sup>47</sup>, Vadian can perceive the *furor Musarum* of the poets as a *coelestis instinctus* that proceeds from them, as a "heavenly impulse" in the literal sense, i.e. as a form of cosmically transmitted power or influence (*efficacissimae naturae vis*, or *caeli vis*)<sup>48</sup> exerted on the natural *ingenium* of the poet.<sup>49</sup> In his chapter XXII, *De Musis*, he follows the *Platonici* in their explanation of how the poet's enthusiasm is received and communicated. Socrates, in one of the famous passages of Plato's *Ion*, had stated that "every poet has some Muse from whom he is suspended and by whom he is possessed"<sup>50</sup>, comparing the transmission of the divine *μαῖα* by which the poet is seized to the magnetic force that links together separate rings of iron and flows through all of them as through a coherent chain — the individual links being, in this case, the Muse, the poet, the rhapsodist who recites his poetry and the audience who listens to the rhapsodist.<sup>51</sup> Ficino, to

<sup>44</sup> First published, together with his Plato translations, in Marsilio Ficino, *Platonis Opera Omnia* (Florence, 1484; Venice, 1491<sup>2</sup>); cf. *In Platonis Ionem, vel de furore poetico, ad Laurentium Medicum virum magnanimum Epitomae*, and *In Phaedrum* (ch. 4), in Marsilio Ficino, *Opera Omnia*, 2 vols (Basel, 1576; rpt. Torino: Bottega d'Erasmus, 1962), I, 1281-1284 and 1363-1386.

<sup>45</sup> Cic., *De orat.*, 2, 194; *div.*, 1, 80; *Tusc.*, 1, 64.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Vadian I, 102-103.

<sup>47</sup> Vadian I, 104.

<sup>48</sup> Vadian I, 105, and 203-204.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. Vadian I, 103.

<sup>50</sup> Quoted after Michael Allen, 'The Soul as a Rhapsode: Marsilio Ficino's Interpretation of Plato's *Ion*', in *Humanity and Divinity in Renaissance and Reformation: Essays in honor of Charles Trinkaus*, ed. by John W. O'Malley et al., *Studies in the History of Christian Thought*, 51 (Leiden: Brill, 1993), p. 144.

<sup>51</sup> Plato, *Ion* 533DE and 535E-536B; cf. Vadian I, 101: "Socrates poetas dicit divina vi moveri omnes, quae consimilis sit huic quae est in lapide Magnete attrahente tanta omnium admiratione ferrum et raptum ad se provocante, per quam furem intelligit Poeticum".

whom Vadian repeatedly refers as *interpres Platonis*<sup>52</sup>, had reinterpreted and amplified this image of the magnetized chain by conceiving its series of links as a vertical succession of metaphysical intermediaries that enables the *furor poeticus* to “descend” to the poet from the Divine Mind (identified, in Neoplatonist fashion, with Zeus/Jupiter), through a sequence of further ontological realms represented by Apollo (as the mind of the World Soul) and the Muses (as the souls of the heavenly spheres). Without mentioning Ficino’s name, Vadian follows closely a passage from Ficino’s *Ion-Commentary*<sup>53</sup> when he describes this ‘celestial descent’ of the *furor poeticus*:

Aiunt enim furorem poeticum cum ex summo Iove per coelos descensus sit in vatum pectora nonnisi his gradibus descendere, ut Iuppiter intelligatur Apollinem rapere, hic autem illuminare Musas, ita ut Musae leves tandem et insuperabiles vatum animas exagitent. Vates autem inspirati interpretes suos inspirare creduntur, hi vero auditores suos. Ab aliis autem Musis aliae atque aliae animae rapiuntur, eo quod, auctore ipso in Timaeo Platone, aliis sphaeris sideribusque aliae attributae sunt animae.<sup>54</sup>

[For they say that the descent through the heavens of the *furor poeticus* from Jupiter, the Highest, into the hearts of the poets does not proceed in any other than the following fashion: That Jupiter has to be understood as the one who transports Apollo who in turn illuminates the Muses in a way that they, finally, excite the light and invincible souls of the poets. The inspired poets, however, are thought to inspire their interpreters who, in turn, inspire their listeners. It is different Muses, though, who each carry away different souls, since — as Plato himself says in *Timaeus* - different (human) souls are attributed to different spheres and stars.]

While Vadian maintains with Plato’s *Ion* that the divine *μανία* cannot be controlled or induced by art, and that its spontaneous workings and unpredictability are doubtlessly best demonstrated with Plato’s examples of the legendary Tynnichos of Chalkis or similar cases, where plain and uneducated people have become great poets almost overnight, he cautions, however, that this is certainly not something the aspiring young writer

<sup>52</sup> Vadian I, 100, and 126.

<sup>53</sup> Ficino, *In Platonis Ionem, Opera*, II, 1282; cf. Plato, *Timaeus*, 41DE, 42B and 42D. For Ficino’s reinterpretation of Plato’s *μανία* of the poets, see Christoph J. Steppich, *Numine Afflatur: Die Inspiration des Dichters im Denken der Renaissance*, Gratia: Bamberger Schriften zur Renaissanceforschung, 39 (Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 2002), pp. 146-165; for the “heavenly descent” of the *furor poeticus*, cf. *ibid.*, pp. 173-175.

<sup>54</sup> Vadian I, 202.

should be taking for granted.<sup>55</sup> Nobody should think of himself as a prodigy and merely rely on his natural *ingenium*. Without firm and methodical training and the instruction through the precepts of art the inborn talent is liable to weaken, and without diligent exercise it will remain coarse, unpolished and unaccomplished: Laziness will dull the urge of the natural inclination to the point of making it unproductive and barren.<sup>56</sup> Being seized and carried away by spontaneous *furor poeticus* is an almost miraculous event, the rare exception rather than the common thing to be expected, although we should never give up hope that it might also happen to us once our innate talent has been readied in the best possible way by study and practice:

Sed arti interim per summam exercitationem adhibenda opera, ut naturam etiam qua exstimulari nos sentimus ad illius furoris raptum idoneam reddamus, id quod principes vates fecisse constat.<sup>57</sup>

[In the meantime, however, we should apply all our energy to art, through the most intense exercise, in order to make nature, which drives us already, even more suitable for being seized by that *furor*, for that is, as we know, what the best of the poets did.]

In Vadian's already quoted passage on the ideal workings of *imitatio* (in ch. XXVIII), we find this same polarity between determined aspiration and intentional endeavor, on one hand, and spontaneous inspiration, always beyond the reach of one's disposal and availability, on the other hand, with the same hope that by doing everything humanly possible in the way of *ars* one can become more and more prepared for the unpredictable onrush of the *furor poeticus*. But, surprisingly, the aspiring young writer is now said to be striving to become enabled to participate in somebody else's *furor poeticus*, namely the very same *furor poeticus* that once possessed the admired author whom he takes as his model. He can only long for this to happen, without being able to enforce it. Still, the figurative dimension associated with the verbs that are used to describe the reader-imitator's endeavor is not free of connotations of force, even hints of aggression and violent coercion. The main image that emerges is in fact that of a tenacious struggle with a seemingly unyielding opponent: An intense confrontation with the emulated master takes place in "reading and re-reading him" in order to get hold of his own admired and desired

<sup>55</sup> Vadian I, 101.

<sup>56</sup> See ch. XI, "Quanta sit artis praestantia et firmitas, quamque facile sit labi naturae confidentibus arte neglecta" and ch. XII, "Quanta sit exercitii vis in omni re".

<sup>57</sup> Vadian I, 106.

qualities. This particular type of reading fuses with the imagery of wrestling: The most drastic metaphor for the intensive occupation with a book and for the process of eagerly assimilating its content — “devouring” it — is linked with another one that evokes the close physical contact achieved by “embracing” a person: Since *amplexari eum* is used for the author of the text that is “devoured” by being read and re-read in order to be “impressed into one’s mind”<sup>58</sup>, this embrace is certainly more aggressive than a friendly hug, rather suggesting the clinch of wrestlers intertwined in one another’s grip. Similarly, one of the common meanings of the verb *volvere* — besides “to trundle”, “to roll”, “to turn” — is “to read a text” (originally from “unreeling a scroll”). But the fact that Vadian uses it with the intensifier *adeo* (“that much”) and in the combination *volvere eum*, “him” (i.e. literally the very person of the emulated author), insinuates again the image of a wrestler relentlessly attempting to twist and turn his opponent, or to roll him over. This figurative presentation of the reader-imitator as involved in a struggle with a strong and superior antagonist, in the obstinate effort of making him yield, or of wresting something from him, brings to mind ‘Longinus’ above-mentioned presentation of Plato being engaged in a dogged fight with Homer — a match that makes this emulator of the superior master appear, in Thomas A. Greene’s words, “as a kind of Jacob” struggling with an opponent “whom he cannot best but whose formidable antagonism constitutes a kind of blessing.”<sup>59</sup> But, according to both ‘Longinus’ and Vadian, all the one-sided efforts to reach the ideal qualities and the perfection of the admired model would be ineffective and would remain frustrated if it were not, in the last event, for the unenforceable mysterious process they describe in similar terms as a *transfusion* that takes place from the emulated masters to their eager imitators, by which the formers’ own *ἐνθουσιασμός*, or *furor poeticus*, respectively, is transmitted to

<sup>58</sup> Vadian I, 244.

<sup>59</sup> Greene, *Light in Troy*, p. 79. Without unduly stressing this “antagonistic” dimension, it should be noted that it does not primarily consist, according to Vadian’s presentation of the relationship between the imitating and the imitated author, in outdoing the emulated model — surpassing the model author was, as we have seen, the common denominator shared by Bembo and Gianfrancesco Pico in spite of all their other dissensions about *imitatio*. [See above, note 22]. Instead of “victory” over the model author by “leaving him behind”, the ultimate purpose of the “struggle” metaphorically hinted to by Vadian rather seems to lie, on the contrary, in the intent to diminish the distance and separation between emulator and imitated master and to achieve, through the most intensive process of assimilation and appropriation, the highest possible degree of union, one-ness or quasi-identity with him.



the disciples who, in ‘Longinus’ words, are thus “participating in the greatness of the others by being carried away by the same enthusiasm”: τῶ ἐτέρων συνενθουσιῶσι μεγέθει (13.2).

In his 1554 editio princeps of *Περὶ Ὑψους*, Francesco Robortello used short Latin marginalia to highlight points he considered noteworthy and of special interest for the reader. Such a marginal note can be found next to the passage where Longinus speaks of the “outpourings” or “effluences” (ἀπόρροιαί) from the ancient masters’ grandeur into their later emulators’ souls, the experience of which inspires them just like the Delphic priestess Pythia was inspired under Apollo’s ἐπίπνοια / *afflatus* (13.2). Robortello’s succinct Latin comment reads: *Furorem in imitatione inesse* [“That (the poet’s) *furor* is in (i.e. is conveyed through) *imitatio*”].<sup>60</sup> The phenomenon described by ‘Longinus’ is clearly perceived by Robortello as a form of transmission of *furor poeticus*, but one that occurs in the process of imitation itself, and this idea must have struck him as different from the common understanding of both *imitatio antiquorum* and *inspiratio*. Traditional poetics, dealing with the question “whether *ars* or *ingenium* makes the poet”, understood *imitatio antiquorum* as one of the methods, together with theory and practice, which were thought necessary to assist, develop and cultivate the “raw” natural talent.<sup>61</sup> Like other learnable techniques and training procedures, the study and adoption of exemplary models, if done with discretion, was recommended as a writer’s valid tool of systematic self-improvement.<sup>62</sup> But as such it belonged to the realm which, according to the ancient dichotomy of “art vs. nature”, was considered diametrically opposed to that of *furor poeticus* and inspiration, phenomena thought to be genuinely related to and

<sup>60</sup> Franciscus Robortellus, *Dionysii Longini [...] liber de grandi sive sublimi orationis genere* (Basileae: Per Ioannem Oporinum [1554]), p. 26; cf. Emilio Mattioli, ‘Il sublime e lo stile: suggestioni cinquecentesche’, in *Da Longino a Longino: I luoghi del Sublime*, a cura di Luigi Rosso (Palermo: Aesthetica edizioni, 1987), pp. 55-64, at p. 56.

<sup>61</sup> See Quint., *inst.*, 10, 2, 1, for the assertion that “a major part of art consists in *imitatio*”, and 10, 2, 3, on *imitatio* as an indispensable means to become ‘good’, i.e. similar to exemplary models.

<sup>62</sup> See Sen., *epist.*, 84; this classical reference to the adequate techniques of imitation was critically adopted, at the beginning of the Renaissance, by Petrarca in his influential *Familiares* letters 1, 8; 22, 2 and 23, 19. Horace, while encouraging the aspiring writer to “thumb the *exemplaria Graeca* day and night” (*ars*, 132-133), also warned against mechanical mimicking and servile reproduction of literary models (*ep.*, 1, 19, 19-20). Similar cautions are common, notably within Cicero’s long exposition of rhetorical imitation in *De orat.*, 2, 87-97 (in particular 2, 89-90). For the reception of classical doctrines of *imitatio* in humanist theory and practice of literary imitation in Italy, up to 1530, see McLaughlin, *Literary Imitation in the Italian Renaissance*, 5-7, 23-24 (on Petrarca), and *passim*.

divinely bestowed onto the *ingenium*, the inborn natural talent of the gifted writer or orator.<sup>63</sup> That the *furor poeticus* is a form of divine influence was a conviction already found in Democrit's statement that a poet's most beautiful compositions are written "with holy spirit, in a state of being filled with God" (μετ' ἐνθουσιασμον καὶ ἱεροῦ πνεύματος)<sup>64</sup>, a belief which, together with Plato's *μανία*-concept, has left its mark also in classical Roman poetry and theory.<sup>65</sup> In the Renaissance, the idea of the poet's inspiration as received directly "from above" was, to a certain extent and in rare instances, perceived in analogy to the divine inspiration of the biblical hagiographers<sup>66</sup>, but remained mainly based upon and fashioned after the model of self-reflective utterances of classical Latin authors, such as Ovid's claim that he was writing under the impact of a "divine presence" that agitates him, or an "ethereal spirit" that was conveyed to him by "celestial commerce".<sup>67</sup> Cicero, too, was quoted to support the same basic view, in particular his famous speech *Pro Archia Poeta* — rediscovered by Petrarca in Liège, in 1333 — with the assertion that the poets have always been considered as being "inflated by a divine spirit, as it were".<sup>68</sup> Petrarch relied on Cicero's undisputed authority to insist on the divine origin of the poet's activity in his *Collatio*

<sup>63</sup> For the basic dichotomy τέχνη — φύσις (art vs. nature), especially in Plato's thought, see Manfred Fuhrmann, *Einführung in die antike Dichtungstheorie* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1973), pp. 75-77; (for later authors:) 115, 133, and passim. For the nature vs. art opposition in connection with the *imitatio* discussion of the Renaissance, see Weinberg, *A History of Literary Criticism in the Italian Renaissance*, vol. I (in particular on Lodovico Dolce, Cinzio Giraldi, Celio Calcagnini and Bartolomeo Ricci).

<sup>64</sup> Quoted after W. J. Verdenius, 'The Principles of Greek Literary Criticism', *Mnemosyne*, 36 (1983), 14-59, at p. 43. For the roots of this idea see Armand Delatte, *Les conceptions de l'enthousiasme chez les philosophes présocratiques* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1934); Eugène N. Tigerfeld, 'Furor Poeticus: Poetic Inspiration in Greek Literature before Democritus and Plato', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 31 (1970), 163-178; Id., *Plato's Idea of Poetical Inspiration* (Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica, 1969); Penelope Murray, 'Poetic Inspiration in early Greece', *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 101 (1981), 87-100.

<sup>65</sup> Otto Falter, *Der Dichter und sein Gott bei den Griechen und Römern* (Würzburg: K. Triltsch, 1934). Cf. Russell, *Criticism in Antiquity*, p. 72, on Horace and Cicero.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. Steppich, *Numine Afflatur*, pp. 59-81; 88-97, and passim.

<sup>67</sup> Ov., *fasti*, 6, 5: "Est Deus in nobis. Agitante calescimus illo. / Impetus ille sacrae semina mentis habet", and Id., *ars amat.*, 3, 549-550: "Est deus in nobis, et sunt commercia caeli: / Sedibus aetheriis spiritus ille venit". For the reception of these lines by Renaissance humanists, see Steppich, *Numine Afflatur*, pp. 236-251.

<sup>68</sup> Cic., *Pro Archia*, 8, 18: "poetam natura ipsa valere et mentis viribus excitare et quasi divino quodam spiritu inflari". For similar passages in Cicero's works see above, note 45.

*Laureationis*, the speech delivered on the Roman Capitol on the occasion of his own coronation as poet laureate.<sup>69</sup> Frequently repeated was Boccaccio's definition of true poetry as an "impulse" (*impulsus*) or "ardent urge" (to invent and write) "that proceeds from the bosom of God" (*fervor ex sinu dei procedens*).<sup>70</sup> With the help of Plato's doctrine of divine frenzy, the Florentine Neoplatonists, especially Ficino in his famous letter *De divino furore*<sup>71</sup>, further emphasized the concept of the poet as being influenced "from above". Even Ficino's already mentioned "cosmological" reinterpretation of the "descent" of the divine *μανία* in his *Ion-Commentary* maintained the traditional understanding of the poet's inspiration as a "vertical" process, while integrating a hierarchy of "heavenly *numina*" as intermediary agents of God's causality and influence on the poet's *ingenium*.<sup>72</sup> In short, a "vertical" pattern was the common and universally accepted mode of looking at the poet's inspiration. The idea that the same *furore* which the poet had received "from above" could also be transmitted through the "horizontal" channels of human culture and history — more specifically, from a classical author via his written work to a much later reader/writer eager to emulate him as a model — must, therefore, have appeared to Robortello as a rather unusual notion, and as something worthwhile of being brought to his readers' attention.

Had Robortello been asked to add a marginal gloss to the above quoted passage in ch. XXVIII of Vadian's *De poetica et carminis ratione*, he could have done so with the same concise remark that he wrote on the margin of his *Περὶ Ὑψους* edition: "Furorem in imitatione inesse". The considerable difference between this concept and the way the typical participant in the Ciceronian debate would look at *imitatio antiquorum* becomes obvious by comparing Vadian's position with, e. g., that of his contemporary, Bartolomeo Ricci (1490-1569). For Ricci, who favored an eclectic procedure over imitating a single model, *imitatio* is simply a technique systematically used to improve a writer's own perceived imperfections with the help of exemplary stylistic "virtues" found in former

<sup>69</sup> See Carlo Godi, 'La *Collatio Laureationis* del Petrarca', *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica*, 13 (1970), 1-27, at pp. 2-3.

<sup>70</sup> Boccaccio, *Genealogia*, 14.7.

<sup>71</sup> Ficino, *Opera*, I, 612-615; the letter is addressed to the young poet Pellegrino degli Agli (1440-1469); English translation in *The Letters of Marsilio Ficino*, trans. from Latin by members of the Language Department of the School of Economic Science, London (London: Shephard-Walwyn, 1975), I, 42-48.

<sup>72</sup> Ficino, *In Platonis Ionem*, *Opera*, II, 1282.

authors. His *De imitatione libri tres* (1541) is, according to Bernard Weinberg, “a Horatian document” that “justifies imitation as the ingredient of art that must be added to nature”.<sup>73</sup> The best solution in the ongoing controversy on literary imitation consists for Ricci “in supplementing nature with art, in correcting one’s genius by adding to it the experience of a variety of other authors [...]. By this process, the deficiencies of the individual’s talent will be compensated by the experience of his predecessors”.<sup>74</sup> By contrast, for Vadian as well as for ‘Longinus’, *imitatio* “is no mere mechanical skill or easily teachable technique”<sup>75</sup> because they associate it with *inspiratio* and the sharing of another author’s enthusiasm, phenomena which refuse to be routinely commandeered and systematically exploited since they lie beyond the availability and disposability of stylistic features and techniques that can be methodically harvested from the texts of literary predecessors.

Is it a mere coincidence, then, that we should find this same significant departure, not only from the usual understanding of *imitatio* but also from the common and traditional concept of the poet’s “divine inspiration from above”, in both the first-century text of the Hellenistic theorist and Vadian’s Viennese *Poetics* of 1518?

There is another unmistakable similarity: ‘Longinus’ elaborates on his concept of the “shared enthusiasm” between the exemplary author and his ardent emulator / imitator by presenting Homer as the ideal model, while providing examples of authors who have become “most Homer-like” by receiving the “effluences” emanating from Homer’s greatness:

Was Herodotus the only one to become *Ὀμηρικώτατος*? Even before him, Stesichorus and Archilochus and, most of all, Plato himself have diverted to themselves countless rills from the Homeric spring (13.3).<sup>76</sup>

The name Stesichorus is of particular interest in this context: By calling him *Ὀμηρικώτατος*, ‘Longinus’ represents a tendency of late-Hellenistic literary criticism which is shared, among others, by Quintilian, for whom Stesichorus was the one “able to emulate Homer in the closest possible way”.<sup>77</sup> By that time, the conviction that Stesichoros was a “second

<sup>73</sup> Weinberg, *A History of Literary Criticism in the Italian Renaissance*, I, 102.

<sup>74</sup> Weinberg, *A History of Literary Criticism in the Italian Renaissance*, I, 102.

<sup>75</sup> D.A. Russell, ‘*De Imitatione*’, p. 11.

<sup>76</sup> Quoted after ‘Longinus’, *On Sublimity*, trans. by D.A. Russell, in *Ancient Literary Criticism*, p. 476; brackets added. For the “claim to be Homeric” of Herodotus, Archilochus and Stesichoros, and for Plato’s debts to Homer and similarities with him, see Russell, ed. *On the Sublime*, pp. 115-116 (commentary to ch. 13.3).

<sup>77</sup> Quintilian, *inst.*, 10, 1, 62; cf. Mazzucchi (ed.), *Del Sublime*, pp. 201-203.

Homer” or “Homer reincarnate” had found its expression, with the help of the Pythagorean doctrine of *palingenesis* / *metempsychosis*, in an epigram of Antipatros of Sidon which proclaimed that “in his [Stesichorus’] breast, according to Pythagorean science, the soul that was first Homer’s has found a second home”.<sup>78</sup> Now, to come back to Vadian: What ‘Longinus’ has alluded to implicitly by dropping the keyword *Ὀμηρικώτατος* and the name Stesichorus, is more explicitly stated in *De Poetica*: Unable to explain in more detail the workings of the mysterious process that involves the transfusion of the admired master’s *furor poeticus* into the pupil who has wrestled so hard to “appropriate him” and to become totally like him, Vadian, as we have seen, simply resorts to the term *palingenesis*.<sup>79</sup> And to illustrate this process, he also refers to Homer as well as to a famous case of somebody who, allegedly, has become a *Homerus redivivus* or “new Homer”. Yet, as his own example, he chooses Stesichorus’ well-known equivalent in Roman literary tradition, Quintus Ennius (a name presumably also more familiar to Vadian’s Viennese students): “I would believe that thus the soul of Homer has been infused into Ennius”.<sup>80</sup> Ennius, the first Roman author to introduce the hexameter into Latin epic poetry, had claimed in the proem of his *Annals* to be Homer’s reincarnation due to the transmigration of Homer’s soul into his body, i.e., as Horace observes in his commentary on Ennius’ claim in his *Letter to Augustus*<sup>81</sup>, on the basis of the philosophical tenet commonly referred to as “Pythagorean metempsychosis” — the same principle by which Stesichorus was believed to have turned *Ὀμηρικώτατος*.<sup>82</sup>

Again, is it just by a curious coincidence that Vadian and ‘Longinus’ should have used these analogous examples to demonstrate how, in ideal

<sup>78</sup> *Anth. Pal.*, 7, 75: “[Στασίχορον] οὐδ’, κατὰ Πυθαγόρειον φυσικὴν φάτιν, ἂ πρὶν Ὀμήρου / ψυχὰ ἐνὶ στέρνοις ᾤκισατο”. See Werner Suerbaum, *Untersuchungen zur Selbstdarstellung älterer römischer Dichter: Livius Andronicus. Naevius. Ennius* (Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1968), pp. 88-89; Otto Skutsch (ed.), *The Annals of Q. Ennius* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), pp. 148-49.

<sup>79</sup> Vadian I, 244.

<sup>80</sup> Vadian I, 244.

<sup>81</sup> Horace, *ep.*, 2, 1, 50, cited in Vadian I, 36-37: Vadian admits that Horace, while mentioning *critici* who accepted Ennius as an *alter Homerus*, is personally somewhat more skeptical about the Roman poet’s claim of having experienced a ‘Pythagorean metempsychosis’. Cf. C. O. Brink, *Horace on Poetry. Epistles II: The Letters to Augustus and Florus* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1982), pp. 93-97; Suerbaum, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 86-91.

<sup>82</sup> For a comparison of Ennius’ claim and Stesichorus’ — chronologically later — reputation of being a metempsychosis of Homer, see Suerbaum, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 89-90, and Skutsch (ed.), *The ‘Annals’ of Q. Ennius*, pp. 148-49.

μίμησις / *imitatio*, a later writer may be infused with the same *ἐνθουσιασμός* / *furor poeticus* that once possessed and inspired the emulated master and, by participating in it, could become quasi-identical with him and thus be enabled to write in his own spirit and vein?

Pondering these similarities, it seems not unreasonable to consider the possibility that Vadian might have been already exposed to a combination of ideas found in ‘Longinus’ *Περὶ Ὑψους*. This leads to the question whether there were any particular circumstances that could have allowed him to know about the Hellenistic treatise, or at least some of its contents, more than a generation before the appearance of Robortello’s editio princeps. Both Robortello’s and Paulus Manutius’ printing copies — and the eight additional surviving ‘Longinus’ mss. — derive from *Codex Parisinus graecus* 2036, a Constantinopolitan codex dating from the second half of the tenth century.<sup>83</sup> As Carlo M. Mazzucchi has shown in his recent investigation of the Renaissance tradition of the mss. of *Περὶ Ὑψους*, the history of the early dissemination of the text in humanist Italy can be linked, to a large extent, to Cardinal Johannes Bessarion (c. 1403-1472), Johannes Argyropoulos (c. 1415-1487) and his student circle, Ianus Lascaris (c. 1445-1534), and other Greek émigrés who have settled in Italy after the Turkish conquest of Constantinople and were active in Florence, Rome, Padua, and Venice, the more significant centers for the propagation of Greek studies.<sup>84</sup> The concentration of Greek scholars in Venice<sup>85</sup> and nearby Padua towards the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century was, in turn, a major incentive for Aldus Manutius (c. 1450-1515) to choose Venice as the site of a printing house devoted, although not exclusively, to the preservation and dissemination of the legacy of ancient Greek literature. Setting himself the task to make available “the works of classical Greece thus far not published in their original language” was, according to H. George Fletcher III,

<sup>83</sup> See Mazzucchi (ed.), *Del Sublime*, p. xxxv. For a description of the textual history of the eleven extant Greek manuscripts of *Περὶ Ὑψους*, see *ibid.*, pp. xxxv-xxxviii.

<sup>84</sup> Carlo M. Mazzucchi, ‘La Tradizione manoscritta del *Περὶ Ὑψους*’, *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica*, 32 (1989), 205-226; see also Mazzucchi (ed.), *Del Sublime*, pp. xxxvi-vii. For the significance of Bessarion, Argyropoulos and Janus Lascaris for the dissemination of Greek learning in humanist Italy see Deno J. Geanakoplos, *Byzantium and the Renaissance: Greek Scholars in Venice* (Cambridge, 1962; repr. Hamden: Archon Books, 1973) and N.G. Wilson, *From Byzantium to Italy: Greek Studies in the Italian Renaissance* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992).

<sup>85</sup> For Venice succeeding Florence as the main center of Greek humanism in Italy, at the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, see Geanakoplos, *Byzantium and the Renaissance*, pp. 4, 6, and *passim*.

an effort bound to bring about “a watershed in the history of classical scholarship”.<sup>86</sup> The immense project to make accessible, in printed form, the literary patrimony of Greek antiquity in its entirety — at the same time a dauntingly demanding scholarly initiative and a farsighted commercial enterprise<sup>87</sup>, could only be realized over a long period of time, in small installments, and was continued, after Aldus’ death, by his successors and descendants. As a necessary first step, it involved the systematic search for surviving manuscripts of ancient Greek texts to identify their content and determine their relative value and potential appeal for contemporary humanist customers. It also meant, above all, securing reliable printing copies.

As has been indicated above, it is a reasonable assumption to conclude from Marc Fumaroli’s observation about the twin-publication of *Περὶ Ὑψους* “intervening” in the middle of the Ciceronian controversies that the preceding phase, the postulated “préhistoire savante du texte” still “enfermée dans les cercles de la haute érudition humaniste et dans le monde du manuscrit”<sup>88</sup>, might have already been affected by the Cinquecento disputes about literary style and *imitatio antiquorum*. That may well have been a contributing cause to the publication of this specific ancient Greek text. It appears safe to say, however, that the development initiated by Aldus’ effort of freeing the entire literary inheritance of Greek antiquity from the constraints of its precarious existence in the “world of the manuscript” as such should be considered a process at least as fundamental, if not even more decisive, for bringing about the eventual publication of ‘Longinus’ treatise. And due to a felicitous connection between humanist Vienna with humanist Italy around the turn of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century, there seems to have opened, as will be shown, a window of opportunity that enabled Vadian to come in touch with scholars, especially from Upper Italy and the Veneto, who may not only have known about the existence of *Περὶ Ὑψους*, but also about its chances as a prospective candidate for publication.

In 1468, Cardinal Bessarion had commissioned a copy of *Περὶ Ὑψους* (from *Cod. Parisinus 2036*), and had donated it that very year to the large Greek community in Venice together with more than 480 other Greek

<sup>86</sup> Harry G. Fletcher III, *New Aldine Studies. Documentary essays on the life and work of Aldus Manutius* (San Francisco: Rosenthal, 1988), p. 2.

<sup>87</sup> Cf. Martin Lowry, *The World of Aldus Manutius. Business and Scholarship in Renaissance Venice* (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 1979).

<sup>88</sup> Cf. Fumaroli, ‘Rhétorique d’école et rhétorique adulte’, p. 41.

manuscripts.<sup>89</sup> This parchment copy [*m*], which forms part of the Venetian codex *Marc. gr.* 522, served as the basis for both Francesco Robortelli's and Paulus Manutius' printed editions<sup>90</sup>, whereas a copy of *m*, now in Milan (*Ambr. B* 144), had been used as the study text of the famous Cretan-Italian Hellenist Francesco Porto. At least by 1553, Paulus Manutius, Aldus' son, had entrusted Porto with preparing *Περὶ Ὑψους* for print<sup>91</sup>, while also urging the French humanist Marc-Antoine Muret, exiled in Venice, to start a Latin translation of it "so that" — as Muret recalls in the commentary to his *Catullus* edition of 1554 "this excellent book could be edited at the same time in Greek and, with my help, in Latin".<sup>92</sup> In his Greek dedicatory preface to the Portuguese cardinal Michele da Silva, the younger Manutius reminds his addressee, an old acquaintance of his father's, of a conversation three years earlier in Rome when the cardinal had pointed out to him how much of the wisdom of the ancients was still waiting to be rediscovered and to be re-appreciated. He then tells the cardinal that he had taken these words as a challenge to spare no effort, as a printer and editor, to bring back to light the hidden treasures of ancient literature, and that for this reason he was now presenting to him a printed edition of *Περὶ Ὑψους* of

Dionysius Longinus [...], a Greek author who counts among the eminent writers of antiquity and was buried with us [in Venice] in Bessarion's library. His work would have been destroyed by time and eaten by moths like many other most valuable books, had it not occurred to me to give it new life [lit. "make it new again": ἀνανεῶσαι] through our printing types.<sup>93</sup>

This passage has to be taken *cum grano salis*. As Mazzucchi has pointed out, Bessarion's copy of *Περὶ Ὑψους* in *Marc. gr.* 522 is still in good shape and was certainly not, in 1555, in a state of advanced disrepair.<sup>94</sup> It is also reasonable to assume that already Paulus' father, Aldus

<sup>89</sup> Mazzucchi (ed.), *Del Sublime*, p. xxxvi; cf. Geanakoplos, *Byzantium and the Renaissance*, p. 118.

<sup>90</sup> Mazzucchi (ed.), *Del Sublime*, pp. xxxvi-xxxvii.

<sup>91</sup> Mazzucchi, 'La Tradizione manoscritta del *Περὶ Ὑψους*', p. 216; Id., *Del Sublime*, p. xxxviii.

<sup>92</sup> "[...] ut eodem tempore optimus liber et Graecus, et mea opera Latinus factus ederetur". Quoted after Mazzucchi, 'La Tradizione manoscritta del *Περὶ Ὑψους*', p. 216.

<sup>93</sup> Mazzucchi (ed.), *Del Sublime*, p. xxxvi; see also Klaus Ley, 'Das Erhabene als Element frühmoderner Bewußtseinsbildung. Zu den Anfängen der neuzeitlichen Longin-Rezeption in der Rhetorik und Poetik des Cinquecento', in *Renaissance-Poetik / Renaissance Poetics*, ed. by Heinrich F. Plett (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1994), pp. 241-259, at 256-57.

<sup>94</sup> Mazzucchi (ed.), *Del Sublime*, p. xxxvi.



Manutius, and the generation of Venetian humanists around him, in particular his staff of Greek philologists and editors, were not only aware of the existence of *Περὶ Ὑψους*<sup>95</sup> but had come, on their own, to the same conclusion that ‘Longinus’ deserved to be counted “among the eminent writers of antiquity” — in spite of the fact that Bessarion’s generous bequest of Greek manuscripts to the Venetian Republic was, at that point, still locked up in the Ducal Palace and, most probably, not available to Aldus and other Venetian printing houses.<sup>96</sup> One manuscript of *Περὶ Ὑψους* is mentioned, however, in 1490, in the catalogue of the large Venetian collection of the humanist encyclopedist Giorgio Valla<sup>97</sup> who, since 1485, had an appointment for teaching classical languages in Venice, and whose lectures included, among other subjects, the history of Greek poetry.<sup>98</sup> Aldus was a friend of Giorgio Valla and routinely borrowed his Greek mss. as printing copies.<sup>99</sup> According to Martin Lowry, Valla’s library with its more than 150 Greek codices, later purchased by Aldus’ pupil and patron, Alberto Pio, prince of Carpi (1475-1531), played a “definite part in Aldus’ editorial plans”.<sup>100</sup> Another copy of *Περὶ Ὑψους* was owned by Constantinople-born Ianus Lascaris, famous collector and connoisseur of Greek manuscripts and considered by his contemporaries as one of the best Hellenists of their time.<sup>101</sup> While still in

<sup>95</sup> Cf. Fumaroli, ‘Rhétorique d’école et rhétorique adulte’, p. 40: “Il est vraisemblable que dans le milieu d’érudits et de philologues rassemblé autour de lui par Alde Manuce [...] ou encore à Rome, autour de Léon X, on eut connaissance en manuscrit du texte grec ou de traductions latines du traité.”

<sup>96</sup> Lowry, *The World of Aldus Manutius*, pp. 229-332, and Martin Sicherl, *Griechische Erstausgaben des Aldus Manutius. Druckvorlagen, Stellenwert, kultureller Hintergrund* (Paderborn – München: F. Schöningh, 1997), pp. 99-102. Only after 1530, when Pietro Bembo, the later cardinal, became librarian of the library of San Marcus in Venice, the situation changed: Bessarion’s codices were then made accessible to the public and could also be borrowed to be copied and printed (see Sicherl, *ibid.*, 101). Codex Marc. gr. 522, which contained Bessarion’s ms. copy of *Περὶ Ὑψους*, has been borrowed in 1547 by George of Corinth, a friend of Paulus Manutius; then, from 1551-1553 by Daniel Dolfin and, in September 1553, by Paulus Manutius himself. See Mazzucchi, ‘La Tradizione manoscritta del *Περὶ Ὑψους*’, pp. 211-12.

<sup>97</sup> R. R. Bolgar (ed.), *The Classical Heritage and its Beneficiaries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954), p. 480.

<sup>98</sup> Wilson, *From Byzantium to Italy*, p. 126; J. L. Heiberg, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Georg Vallas und seiner Bibliothek* (Leipzig, 1896; repr. Nendeln: Kraus, 1968), pp. 70 and 93.

<sup>99</sup> Sicherl, *Griechische Erstausgaben*, pp. 9, 87-9, 121 and 223.

<sup>100</sup> Lowry, *The World of Aldus Manutius*, p. 134; cf. Heiberg, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Georg Vallas*, pp. 106-108.

<sup>101</sup> Martin Sicherl, ‘Die Aldina der griechischen Epistolographen (1499)’, in *Aldus Manutius and Renaissance Culture. Essays in Memory of Franklin D. Murphy*, ed. by David S. Zeidberg and Fiorella G. Superbi (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 1998), pp. 81-93, at p. 89.

the service of Lorenzo de' Medici in Florence, Lascaris had undertaken two successful journeys to the Greek East in search of manuscripts, adding about 200 of them to the Medicean library. From 1492-95, he had held the chair for Greek letters in Florence and started to print Greek texts on his own, among them the first printed edition of the *Greek Anthology*.<sup>102</sup> Even before Lascaris came to Venice where, from 1504-1509, he was ambassador of the French king while at the same time continuing Bessarion's role as "protector of the Greeks"<sup>103</sup>, he had supported Aldus's Greek publications with his expert advise, constantly encouraging him to print the best of the Greek authors while supplying him with suitable manuscripts from his ample library.<sup>104</sup> As Mazzucchi has shown, already the original codex *Par. gr. 2032*, from which Bessarion had copied his own 'Longinus' ms. in *Marc. gr. 522*, had passed through Lascaris' hands before it became part of the magnificent library of his pupil, Cardinal Niccolò Ridolfi (1501-1550) in Rome (which later, in its entirety, was integrated into the French royal library in Paris).<sup>105</sup> Lascaris' personal annotations in his copy of *Περὶ Ὑψους* (*Par. gr. 2974*)<sup>106</sup> are proof that he had studied the manuscript and was familiar with its contents. And if Mazzucchi is correct in his suspicion that this copy might be identical with the *Λογγίνου Περὶ Ὑψους* which, after Lascaris had borrowed it from the Medicean library, was listed as missing in a later catalog of that library, then even the very fact that he did not return this borrowed Greek ms. would attest to Lascaris' particular interest in 'Longinus' treatise.<sup>107</sup>

Many of Aldus' humanist friends and close collaborators, in particular the Hellenists Scipio Carteromachus (= Scipione Fortiguerra, 1466-1515) of Pistoia and Ioannes Gregoropoulos (fl. 1500) from Crete, were associated, as searchers for manuscripts, editors, readers and correctors, with Aldus' "New Academy" (*Νεακαδημία*) whose foremost purpose it was, according to Deno J. Geanakoplos, "to select the Greek authors to be printed and to seek solutions to the various philological and literary problems involved".<sup>108</sup> There can be little doubt that Aldus had already

<sup>102</sup> Wilson, *From Byzantium to Italy*, pp. 98-100; cf. Geanakoplos, *Byzantium and the Renaissance*, pp. 114-15.

<sup>103</sup> Geanakoplos, *Byzantium and the Renaissance*, p. 130.

<sup>104</sup> Sicherl, *Griechische Erstausgaben*, pp. 229 and 310-11.

<sup>105</sup> Mazzucchi (ed.), *Del Sublime*, p. xxxvi.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>107</sup> Mazzucchi, 'La Tradizione manoscritta del *Περὶ Ὑψους*', pp. 212-13.

<sup>108</sup> Geanakoplos, *Byzantium and the Renaissance*, p. 128; cf. Wilson, *From Byzantium to Italy*, pp. 129-30.

early on established an agenda and a preliminary “corpus” of the Greek writers to be considered for the subsequent Aldine publications. 1508 and the following year have seen the publication of the Aldine *Rhetores Graeci*, a two-volume collection of Greek treatises on “rhetoric” in the larger sense, since it also included the first edition of Aristotle’s *Poetics*<sup>109</sup> which had been omitted from Aldus’ big *Aristotle* edition of 1495-98. The first volume of the *Rhetores Graeci* was dedicated to Lascaris who had provided some of his own mss. as printer’s copies for this edition<sup>110</sup>, among them most probably also the primary printers’ copy for Aristotle’s *Poetics*.<sup>111</sup> Since Lascaris also owned a ms. of *Περὶ Ὑψους* and must have become aware of its relative significance within the “corpus” of Greek authors of antiquity considered relevant for the fields of rhetoric and literary theory, it seems highly unlikely, given his close association with the Aldine press at the time, that the expedience of including ‘Longinus’ in the Aldine *Rhetores Graeci* should not have been discussed by Lascaris, Aldus, and the group of experts in charge of the selection of suitable texts for this edition. Among them were also the Cretan Hellenist Marcus Musurus (c. 1470-1517), then in Padua, a friend of Aldus and later his principal editor of Greek texts, who aided in preparing the publication of the *Rhetores Graeci*<sup>112</sup>, and his fellow countryman Demetrius Ducas (ca. 1480-after 1527), the later pioneer of Greek studies in Spain, to whom Aldus dedicated the second volume and who, according to Geanakoplos, was probably the chief editor and supervisor of the work.<sup>113</sup> That *Περὶ Ὑψους* did in fact not yet become part of this 1508/09 collection of texts of Greek rhetoric and literary theory might have been simply due to Aldus’ hesitancy of printing the work of a Greek author of which he was not able to procure at least three copies for critical text comparison.<sup>114</sup> Or its edition might have been initially postponed because Aldus, as Ralph Hexter has pointed out, seems to have followed, as a

<sup>109</sup> Geanakoplos, *Byzantium and the Renaissance*, p. 226.

<sup>110</sup> Sicherl, *Griechische Erstaussgaben*, pp. 229 and 309-312.

<sup>111</sup> Sicherl, *Griechische Erstaussgaben*, pp. 314-315.

<sup>112</sup> Lowry, *The World of Aldus Manutius*, p. 164; Geanakoplos, *Byzantium and the Renaissance*, p. 140; cf. *ibid.*, p. 227, where Geanakoplos points out that the two volumes of the *Rhetores graeci* (1508/9) should not be confused with the two volumes of Aldus’ *Oratores graeci* (printed in 1513) who do not deal with the theory of how to compose and deliver speeches, but “include, besides the lives, the actual orations of Aeschines, Lysias, et al.”.

<sup>113</sup> Geanakoplos, *Byzantium and the Renaissance*, p. 140.

<sup>114</sup> Aldus states this editorial principle in the preface of his *Thucydides* edition of 1502; cf. Wilson, *From Byzantium to Italy*, p. 134.

general guide in his selection of the Greek authors to be given first priority<sup>115</sup> “the suggested reading list for students of rhetoric” offered by Quintilian in book 10 of his *Institutio oratoria*<sup>116</sup> — a list which intentionally omits, however, authors that were still living and writing in Quintilian’s own day, thus also precluding ‘Longinus’, his presumed contemporary.<sup>117</sup>

That foreign scholars with direct or indirect contacts with Italy have become aware of ‘Longinus’ treatise before it appeared in print, and that foreigners commissioned or acquired copies of it, can be seen from the notes of the Swiss humanist and naturalist Conrad Gessner (1516-1565) who, in his *Bibliotheca Universalis*, published in Zurich in 1545, observes that a Greek *opusculum* of Dionysius Longinus, *De magnitudine orationis*, was being preserved in Rome, and that an incomplete version of his *Περὶ ὕψους λόγου* was in the possession of the Spaniard Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, from 1539 to 1547 imperial ambassador of Charles V in Venice.<sup>118</sup> Latin translations of *On the Sublime* might also have already been circulating among Renaissance scholars, in and outside of Italy.<sup>119</sup>

<sup>115</sup> Beyond such well-known classics as Aristotle and Aristophanes, already in demand by his humanist readers, and texts that fulfilled an eminent practical purpose, like the works of Greek grammarians and the Greek “epistolographers”, useful to humanists as models for their own attempts to write accomplished Greek letters; cf. Sicherl, ‘Die Aldina der griechischen Epistolographen (1499)’, p. 81.

<sup>116</sup> Ralph Hexter, ‘Aldus, Greek, and the shape of the ‘Classical Corpus’’, in *Aldus Manutius and Renaissance Culture* [see above, note 101], pp. 143-160.

<sup>117</sup> Provided that *On the Sublime* was written, as is nowadays generally agreed upon, around the middle of the first century AD (see above, note 1). Quintilian lived from c. 35 to ca. 100 AD; his list of exemplary Greek authors in *Inst. or.*, 10, 1 is already dependent on an earlier list in the treatise *On imitation* of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who had arrived in Rome around 30 B.C. See Russell, *Criticism in Antiquity*, pp. 52-3; Hexter, ‘Aldus, Greek, and the shape of the ‘Classical Corpus’’, p. 151.

<sup>118</sup> See Charles Graux, *Essai sur les origines du fonds grec de l'Escorial* (Paris: F. Vieweg, 1880), 388; Mazzucchi, ‘La Tradizione manoscritta del *Περὶ ὕψους*’, p. 223. Mazzucchi notes that a copy of the treatise, definitely from the library of Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, perished, with one or possibly even two further ms. copies of *On the Sublime*, in a fire at the Escorial in 1671; another Greek ms. copy of *On the Sublime* existed in St. Remis Abbey at Reims in France and burnt, together with hundreds of other codices, in 1774 (*ibid.*).

<sup>119</sup> Of the three earliest Latin 16<sup>th</sup> century translations we know of, the one by Marc-Antoine Muret is referred to in his commentary on Catullus (1554), another one was written by the Hungarian theologian Andreas Dudith and is mentioned by him in 1560; the only surviving one among them is *Dionysii Longini de altitudine / & granditate orationis* [Vat. Lat. 3441, fols. 12-31], a ms. which is probably still from the first half of the sixteenth century. See Weinberg, ‘Translations and Commentaries of Longinus’, pp. 145-151; Id., ‘Ps. Longinus, Dionysius Cassius’, pp. 194-198, and Costa, ‘The Latin Translations of Longinus’ *Peri Hypsous* in Renaissance Italy’, pp. 224-238.

One of the most conspicuous features of Renaissance humanism was, without doubt, its international scope, the free flow of information beyond national boundaries. That Vadian participated in this scholarly exchange among the citizens of the universal *Respublica litteraria* is obvious from his vast international correspondence.<sup>120</sup> At the time of Vadian's studies and teaching at the University of Vienna, the cultural relations between the Hapsburg capital and humanist Italy were particularly tight. Emperor Maximilian I (r. 1493-1519) could be compared, in his role as an eminent patron of art, literature and the sciences, to only one of his contemporaries, Pope Leo X (r. 1513-1521). His second wife, Bianca Maria, daughter of Duke Galeazzo Sforza (1444-1476) of Milan, had gathered around herself an entourage of Italian scholars and artists after moving to Vienna in 1494.<sup>121</sup> Two of Vadian's prominent teachers, the German humanist Conrad Celtis (1459-1508) — student of Johannes Reuchlin (1455-1522)<sup>122</sup> and founder and chair of the *Collegium Poetarum et Mathematicorum*, the first institute of humanist studies in Vienna — and the Viennese philologist, poet laureate and imperial diplomat Johannes Cuspinianus (= Johann Spießheimer, 1473-1529), Vadian's own immediate predecessor on this same chair, had established strong ties with the Italian humanists and diplomats at the Hapsburg court as well as with scholars in Italy.<sup>123</sup> The close academic connections between Vienna and the humanist centers of Upper Italy became very visible, since the last decade of the Quattrocento, in the increasing numbers of Italian professors teaching in the Austrian capital.<sup>124</sup> Vadian and his colleagues continued

<sup>120</sup> See Conradin Bonorand [et. al.] (eds.), *Personenkommentar I-IV zum Vadianischen Briefwerk: Gesamtregister* (St. Gallen: Verlagsgesellschaft St. Gallen, 2001).

<sup>121</sup> Stephan Füßel, *Riccardus Bartholinus Perusinus. Humanistische Panegyrik am Hofe Kaiser Maximilians I.*, Saecula Spiritalia, 16 (Baden-Baden: V. Koerner, 1987), pp. 21-24.

<sup>122</sup> Reuchlin was among the more famous students of Argyropoulos in Florence and Rome; cf. Geanakoplos, *Byzantium and the Renaissance*, p. 275, and Wilson, *From Byzantium to Italy*, pp. 84 and 88.

<sup>123</sup> Füßel, *Riccardus Bartholinus*, pp. 21-24; Alphons Lhotsky, 'Die Wiener Artistenfakultät 1365-1497', in *Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil. Hist. Klasse*, 247, Bd. 2/2 (Vienna: H. Böhlau Nachf., 1965), and Hans Ankiewicz-Kleehoven, *Der Wiener Humanist Johannes Cuspinian. Gelehrter und Diplomat zur Zeit Kaiser Maximilians I.* (Graz: H. Böhlau, 1959), pp. 9-10, 18, and passim.

<sup>124</sup> See Gustav Bauch, *Die Reception des Humanismus in Wien. Eine litterarische Studie zur deutschen Universitätsgeschichte* (Breslau: M. Marcus, 1903), pp. 11-54, and Helmuth Grössing, *Humanistische Naturwissenschaft. Zur Geschichte der Wiener mathematischen Schulen des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*, Saecula Spiritalia, 8 (Baden-Baden: V. Koerner, 1983).

this Viennese *contubernium* of German speaking and Italian Humanists in the new century<sup>125</sup>, the early years of which, until 1505/06, were also marked by Aldus Manutius' own attempts to establish in Vienna a new center of Greek scholarship and publishing.<sup>126</sup> Through his contacts with the imperial councillor, Cardinal Matthias Lang, bishop of Gurk in Carinthia (later archbishop of Salzburg)<sup>127</sup>, Aldus had tried to win Maximilian for the idea of transferring his "New Academy" from Venice to the imperial capital<sup>128</sup> in order to make Vienna "another Athens for the men of our time".<sup>129</sup> Besides Celtis, a strong advocate of the project, Aldus also counted on the support of Cuspinianus with whom he had already been entertaining a mutually beneficial editorial collaboration.<sup>130</sup>

Among Vadian's connections to Italian humanist circles in Upper Italy and the Veneto was his friend and teacher Johannes Camers (= Johannes Ricutius Vellinus, 1448-1546) of Camerino near Vicenza, who had taught

<sup>125</sup> Füssel, *Riccardus Bartholinus*, p. 24. For the loose confederation of Viennese humanists in the *Sodalitas Danubiana*, established by Celtis, which was followed by the *Sodalitas Collimitiana* around the humanist poet, astronomer and imperial physician Georgius Collimitius (= Georg Tannstetter, 1482-1538), see Conradin Bonorand, *Aus Vadians Freundes- und Schülerkreis in Wien* (St. Gallen: Fehr, 1965), pp. 80-82; Ankwic-Kleehoven, *Johannes Cuspinian*, p. 168 and passim; Füssel, *Riccardus Bartholinus*, pp. 78, 85 and 236.

<sup>126</sup> Lowry, *The World of Aldus Manutius*, p. 199; Hans Ankwic-Kleehoven, *Johannes Cuspinian*, p. 27.

<sup>127</sup> Giovanni Orlandi, *Aldo Manuzio editore: dediche, prefazioni, note ai testi*, 2 vols (Milan: Il Polifilo, 1975), I, 68 and 76; for Cardinal Lang, as "the most influential person in the entourage of Maximilian I", see Conradin Bonorand, *Personenkommentar II zum Vadianischen Briefwerk*, Vadian Studien, 11 (St. Gallen: Verlagsgesellschaft St. Gallen, 1983), p. 326 and Johann Sallaberger, *Kardinal Matthäus Lang von Wellenburg (1468-1540)* (Salzburg – München, 1997).

<sup>128</sup> How serious Aldus was about securing imperial sponsorship for this project becomes evident by the fact that he personally dispatched the German Dominican Johannes Cuno (= Johann Kuhn, or Kühn, 1463-1513) of Nürnberg — who had studied under him and Ioannes Gregoropoulos in Venice — to Vienna, with letters to the Emperor and Cardinal Lang, in order to lead the negotiations for the establishment of the planned 'Imperial Academy'. See Lowry, *The World of Aldus Manutius*, pp. 200 and 268; Martin Sicherl, *Johannes Cuno. Ein Wegbereiter des Griechischen in Deutschland. Eine biographisch-kodikologische Studie* (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1978), p. 49; Hans Ankwic-Kleehoven, 'Aldus Manuzio und der Plan einer deutschen Ritterakademie', *La Bibliofilia*, 52 (1950), 169-177.

<sup>129</sup> As he declared in a letter to Celtis; see Lowry, *The World of Aldus Manutius*, p. 199, and Hans Rupprich (ed.), *Der Briefwechsel des Konrad Celtis* (München: C. H. Beck, 1934), pp. 517 and 531.

<sup>130</sup> Lowry, *The World of Aldus Manutius*, pp. 201, 259, 266-7 and 288; on Cuspinianus see also Pierre de Nolhac (ed.) 'Les correspondents d'Alde Manuce: Matériaux Nouveaux d'Histoire Littéraire, 1483-1515', *Studi e documenti di storia e di diritto*, 8 (1887), letter Nr. 27.

in Padua before he became professor for philosophy and theology in Vienna (from 1497 to 1528). Camers wrote commentaries and published editions of the works of several authors of antiquity,<sup>131</sup> and Vadian praises the Italian colleague's vast familiarity with classical texts and acknowledges his own special indebtedness to Camers' expertise in literary studies.<sup>132</sup> Vadian's personal expert authority on Greek literature was his Italian friend Riccardus Bartholinus (ca. 1480-1529), imperial court poet in Vienna, a protégé of Cardinal Lang and former professor of rhetoric in Perugia, who also published commentaries on classical authors as well as translations from Greek.<sup>133</sup> In his own edition and critical commentary of *De Orbis Situ* of Pomponius Mela<sup>134</sup> Vadian speaks highly about the Greek and Latin scholarship of another of his Italian colleagues, Angelus Cospus († 1516).<sup>135</sup> Since 1514, Cospus, famous philologist and son of a Bolognese senator, had been employed by the University of Vienna to lecture on topics of Greek and Latin literature, substituting for Cuspinianus who by then was over-occupied with his duties as an imperial diplomat. Cospus' lectures on Diodorus Siculus<sup>136</sup> and on Vergil's *Georgica* were taken over, after his death in 1516, by Vadian himself.<sup>137</sup> When he was still active in Bologna, both as a Hellenist and lecturer for rhetoric, Cospus had been in close contact with the circle of Aldus Manutius, especially with Scipio "Carteromachus" Fortiguerra, Aldus' friend and, as already mentioned, one of his chief experts for the edition of Greek authors.<sup>138</sup>

<sup>131</sup> Bonorand, *Personenkommentar II*, p. 243.

<sup>132</sup> Vadian I, 143, and III, 138; cf. Näf I, 171-173; Conradin Bonorand, 'Vadians Studienreise nach Nordostitalien', *Schweizer Beiträge zur allgemeinen Geschichte / Études suisses d'histoire générale*, 18/19 (1960/61), 199-200.

<sup>133</sup> Füssel, *Riccardus Bartholinus*, pp. 31-2, 76-78 and passim. In 1504/05, Bartholinus composed his epos *Austrias* in praise of the House of Hapsburg; it was published with a dedicatory letter by Vadian (*ibid.*, pp. 146 and 190-192). In *De Poetica*, Vadian quotes a passage from Bartholinus' new Latin translation of Hesiod's *Theogony* and acknowledges his scholarly accomplishments [Vadian I, 193-4]. For Vadian's friendship with Bartholinus see also Näf I, 233-235; Bonorand, *Aus Vadians Freundes- und Schülerkreis in Wien*, pp. 54, 72-75 and 80-82.

<sup>134</sup> Pomponius Mela, *De Orbis Situ libri tres: accuratissime emendati, cum commentariis Ioachimi Vadiani* (Basileae: Apud Andream Cratandrum, 1522).

<sup>135</sup> Bonorand, *Personenkommentar II*, p. 260.

<sup>136</sup> Among other translations and editions of ancient Greek texts, Cospus published two books of this author, the first of which he dedicated to Emperor Maximilian I. See Bonorand, *Personenkommentar II*, p. 260.

<sup>137</sup> Näf I, 192-93; Gaier, 'Vadian und die Literatur des 16. Jahrhunderts', p. 268.

<sup>138</sup> Cospus' correspondence (for the years 1511 and 1512) with Fortiguerra found its way into the famous humanist library of Cardinal Fulvio Orsini in Rome. See Bonorand, *Personenkommentar II*, pp. 260-62; Guido Zaccagnini, *Storia dello Studio di Bologna durante il Rinascimento* (Geneva: L.S. Olschki, 1930), p. 280.

In 1507/08, Vadian had traveled to Northeastern Italy “in order to see some of its learned men”, as he recollects in an excursus of *De Poetica*<sup>139</sup>, visiting its main centers of scholarship, Venice and — then Venetian — Padua.<sup>140</sup> Famous for its Aristotelian studies, the University of Padua had installed a chair in Greek as early as 1463, which at the time of Vadian’s visit was held by the most important collaborator of Aldus Manutius for the edition of Greek classics, the Cretan Marcus Musurus<sup>141</sup> whose lectures on Greek literature attracted students from both sides of the Alps.<sup>142</sup> In *De Poetica*, Vadian also expresses his gratitude for having been admitted, during his stay in Padua, into the circle of the friends and colleagues of Mauritius Hibernicus (= Maurice O’Fihely, also known as Mauritius de Portu, fl. 1500), professor of theology and Aristotelian philosophy whom he credits, however, as the person who awakened in him a permanent love for literature and poetics.<sup>143</sup> Before Padua, Vadian had stayed in Venice. According to his modern biographer, Conradin Bonorand, he visited, in all likelihood, Aldus’ famous “printing house on the Rialto” in late 1507 or early 1508<sup>144</sup>, i.e. during the time when Erasmus of Rotterdam stayed in Venice (since November 1507) to benefit from Aldus’ scholarly expertise and editing skills for the publication of his *Adagia* (printed in September 1508). More significant for our purpose is the fact that Vadian’s stay in Venice occurred at the time just before the publication of the Aldine collection of the *Rhetores Graeci* (1508/09), i.e. during the months when Aldus’ collaborators, in Venice, Padua and beyond, were concentrating on identifying and examining texts of Greek

<sup>139</sup> Vadian I, 143-44.

<sup>140</sup> Bonorand, ‘Vadians Studienreise’, pp. 186-207.

<sup>141</sup> Sicherl, *Griechische Erstausgaben des Aldus Manutius*, pp. 14, 20, 64, 106 and 292-296.

<sup>142</sup> Geanakoplos, *Byzantium and the Renaissance*, pp. 39 and 135-139. Among the most notable German speaking scholars that attended Musurus’ lectures on Greek literature at the time was the already mentioned Johannes Cuno, a former student of Johannes Reuchlin and pupil of Aldus’ in Venice, often called “the true founder of Greek studies in Germany” (Geanakoplos, *ibid.*, p. 136). According to Lowry, *The World of Aldus Manutius*, p. 269, “Cuno knew the Aldine circle as few foreigners can have done”. For his role in saving many of Aldus’ Greek printing copies — manuscripts which would normally have been discarded after the printed edition of the text was accomplished — see Sicherl, *Johannes Cuno*, passim, and Lowry, *The World of Aldus Manutius*, pp. 235-240.

<sup>143</sup> Vadian I, 143-44 and III, 93; see Bonorand, ‘Vadians Studienreise’, 198-99. After teaching at the university of Padua was disrupted, in 1509, as a consequence of the military operations of the Anti-Venetian League of Cambrai, Hibernicus withdrew to Venice, together with Musurus and other Paduan professors; cf. Lowry, *The World of Aldus Manutius*, p. 164.

<sup>144</sup> Bonorand, ‘Vadians Studienreise’, p. 198.



rhetoric and literary theory, sorting out appropriate candidates for inclusion and trying, in each case, to procure a sufficient number of adequate printing copies for the critical text comparison required for the planned edition. As pointed out above, there is a distinct likelihood that *Περὶ Ὑψους*, although not yet included, was already among the texts considered for publication in these volumes.

That Vadian had the opportunity to come in touch, in Vienna or Italy, with humanist contemporaries — especially from the academic circles of Padua and the Aldine milieu in Venice — who might have been already familiar with ‘Longinus’, does not prove, of course, that he did indeed have access to *Περὶ Ὑψους*, or that his academic contacts and scholarly acquaintances must have conveyed to him certain concepts found in ‘Longinus’ treatise. Still, we are left wondering about the peculiar connection that both Vadian and the author of *Περὶ Ὑψους* established between *imitatio* and *inspiratio*, phenomena traditionally treated, as we have seen, as rather unrelated items. Was the similarity just due to “two minds thinking alike”, though separated by many centuries, while dealing with the same general topic? Donald A. Russell’s suggestion that ‘Longinus’ seemingly unique adaptation of the idea of inspiration to that of literary imitation “may owe something to the magnetic chain metaphor of Plato’s *Ion* 533D”<sup>145</sup> is certainly not less to the point in Vadian’s case: Both authors may have replaced, independently and perhaps unwittingly, the last two members in the Socratic chain of contagious divine *μανία* — i.e. the rhapsodist who orally recites Homer’s poetry, and the captivated audience who listens to him — with Homer’s work as it is transmitted through the centuries in written form and absorbed by a fascinated later reader intent on emulating the great master of the distant past.

Had the idea simply been “lying in the air”, in ‘Longinus’ times as well as in Vadian’s times, then we might ask, nevertheless, why Vadian’s more famous humanist contemporaries, many of them much deeper involved in the issues of *imitatio antiquorum*, did not arrive to similar conclusions, possibly with the help of Plato’s *Ion* or also, as Vadian did, by resorting to Ennius’ famous claim of being Homer reincarnate. But regardless of whether the discussed affinity and unusual combination of concepts, in both ‘Longinus’ and the Swiss humanist’s *Poetics* of the early Sixteenth century, is coincidental or not, Vadian’s explanation

<sup>145</sup> Russell (ed.), ‘Longinus’, *On the Sublime*, p. 114.

retains a refreshing originality when compared with the traditional images and stock similes that were routinely used for the process of literary imitation: It is hardly necessary to point out that authors from Petrarch to Politian and beyond did not seem to get tired of repeating Seneca's "apian metaphor", likening elective *imitatio* to the activity of the busy bee that gathers materials from different flowers and transforms them into the new substances honey and wax.<sup>146</sup> Some kept referring to the behavior of monkeys ("simian metaphor") or parrots as examples for inappropriate forms of *imitatio*. Others, like Marco Girolamo Vida in his famous *De arte poetica* of 1527 (a decade after Vadian's *De poetica*), simply recommended systematic "theft" from previous authors, provided that it was adequately disguised.<sup>147</sup> Utopian and irrational as it may be, Vadian's metaphor of *palingenesis* appears, by contrast, uniquely suited to capture the Renaissance "dream", by being a compelling expression of the longing to overcome the immense distance<sup>148</sup>, in time as well as in quality, that separates the aspiring young writer from the excellence of his past ideal: Through the "rebirth" of the admired classical author in the imitator / emulator's own person that enables him to write in the master's vein, a process through which he participates not only in the master's enthusiasm but at the same time — in the most immediate and most individualized fashion — also in the eponymous universal aspiration of his time, the *renascentia* / "renascence" of classical antiquity at large.

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<sup>146</sup> See Jürgen von Stackelberg, 'Das Bienengleichnis: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der literarischen *Imitatio*', *Romanische Forschungen*, 68 (1956), 271-293.

<sup>147</sup> For the commonly adopted metaphors and strategies of *imitatio*, see Pigman, 'Versions of Imitation in the Renaissance', pp. 1-32, and Id., 'Neo-Latin Imitation of the Latin Classics', in *Latin Poetry and the Classical Tradition. Essays in Medieval and Renaissance Literature*, ed. by Peter Godmann and Oswyn Murray (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990), pp. 199-210, in particular on Vida's praise, in his *De arte poetica*, of stealing as his way of "*imitatio* through appropriation", and on "his transformation of *furtum* from a term of reproach to a badge of honour" (p. 204).

<sup>148</sup> See Greene, *The Light in Troy*, pp. 22, 111, and passim, for the problem of distance, remoteness and separateness from the past period of classical antiquity, experienced during the Renaissance as "the perpetual [...] conflict of perceived continuity and rupture" (p. 149) and, at the same time, as the permanent source of its imitative impulse.

James P. WARD

HADRIANUS BARLANDUS AND A CATALOG OF THE  
COUNTS AND COUNTESSSES OF HOLLAND PUBLISHED  
AT AMSTERDAM BY DOEN PIETERSZ

### 1. Introduction

In 1997 W. van Anrooij edited and published the results of a large collaborative, interdisciplinary study on the 'Counts-and-Countesses-of-Holland' series of portraits which at one time hung in the cloistered gallery of the Benedictine monastery at Egmond. The portraits, painted on wooden panels, were moved in 1578 in order to protect them probably from the effects of the weather, and since then they have hung in the city hall at Haarlem. The Middle Dutch rhymed texts included in the panels underneath the portraits are discussed at length by Van Anrooij, as are other related texts still extant in manuscript form.<sup>1</sup>

In addition to the Middle Dutch texts on the painted wooden panels and in manuscripts, Van Anrooij also discussed woodcuts and engravings representing the counts and countesses of Holland, made by a number of artists. One of the earliest series of woodcuts was by the artist Jacob Cornelisz van Oostzanen, published by Doen Pietersz of Amsterdam at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Editions are known which are accompanied by texts in Latin and in French. A number of these woodcuts are preserved at the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam.<sup>2</sup> Another series of

<sup>1</sup> W. van Anrooij in W. van Anrooij (ed.), *De Haarlemse gravenportretten: Hollandse geschiedenis in woord en beeld* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1997), pp. 7-45. In the first three chapters Van Anrooij discusses the creation of the series of portraits, their history and the history of the accompanying texts.

<sup>2</sup> Parts of these woodcuts are sometimes used to illustrate books and articles in learned journals. The practice generally is that the texts are not included; see e.g. Petra J. E. M. van Dam, *Vissen in veenmeren: De sluisvisserij bij de Spaarndamse dijk en de ecologische transformatie in Rijnland 1440-1530* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1998), p. 193; Dick E. H. de Boer – Erich H. P. Cordfunke, *Graven van Holland: Portretten in woord en beeld* (Zutphen: Walburg Press, 1995), p. 106; E. Pluijmen, 'Jacoba van Beieren als Vorstin', *Spiegel Historiael*, 20 (1985), 321-325 (p. 322). For a different, late 16th-century series of

the woodcuts by Jacob Cornelisz, but with French rhymed texts, is preserved at Karlsruhe, Germany. An important fact is that the French language series contains portraits of the counts of Holland from Dirk I, the traditional starting point in the tenth century, to Charles V in the sixteenth. There are nine sheets in all.<sup>3</sup>

However, the same woodcuts by Jacob Cornelisz representing the counts and countesses of Holland but with Latin texts are mentioned only briefly by a number of authors, including Van Anrooij.<sup>4</sup> It is this series of woodcuts made by Jacob Cornelisz van Oostzanen, accompanied by texts in Latin, and published by Doen Pietersz of Amsterdam early in the sixteenth century which is the subject of the present publication.<sup>5</sup>

How many original sixteenth-century prints of the counts and countesses of Holland are still extant is not known, but the number is probably small. Wouter Nijhoff collected and then re-published in their original sizes a large number of sixteenth-century woodcuts, including a considerable number by Jacob Cornelisz. The Print Room at the University of Leiden library has eight of Nijhoff's reproductions, made in the 1930's from Jacob Cornelisz's woodcuts.<sup>6</sup> Four of these reproductions have Latin prose texts underneath the principal figures.<sup>7</sup> The last

prints of the counts and countesses of Holland which are accompanied by Middle Dutch texts see R. Groen, 'Vergissing of vervalsing? Een vergelijking tussen de Haarlemse gravenportretten en de prenten van Hendrick Goltzius', *Skript. Historisch Tijdschrift*, 26-3 (March 2004), 5-18.

<sup>3</sup> Wouter Nijhoff, 'De Graven van Holland, Houtsneden van Jacob Cornelisz, met Franschen Tekst. Amsterdam, Doen Pieterszoon, 1518', *Het Boek*, N.S. 25 (1938-39), 51-52, with 4 pages of illustrations; van Anrooij (ed.), *De Haarlemse gravenportretten*, pp. 12 and 35.

<sup>4</sup> Van Anrooij wrote that the series of prints with Latin texts is reasonably well known ('redelijk bekend'), and he refers to Kurt Steinbart, *Das Holzschnittwerk des Jakob Cornelisz van Amsterdam* (Burg bei Magdeburg: Hopfer, 1937). Steinbart's book (in essence a catalog) contains many reproductions of woodcuts, but the author only mentions briefly the 'Counts of Holland' series with texts in Latin; p. 72. Similarly, Marijke Carasso-Kok (ed.), *Geschiedenis van Amsterdam tot 1578: Een stad uit het niets* (Amsterdam: SUN, 2004), p. 416.

<sup>5</sup> I thank Prof. Dr. C. L. Heesakkers for his generous help during the preparation of the Latin texts and their translations, and for his advice and counsel. Any shortcomings that may be found are my responsibility. An earlier part of this study is in James P. Ward, 'A selection of letters, 1507-1516, from the Guelders war', *Lias*, 29 (2002), 125-151.

<sup>6</sup> Wouter Nijhoff, *Nederlandsche Houtsneden 1500-1550* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1931-1939); with texts by Wouter Nijhoff in co-operation with H. Nijhoff-Seldorff and Max D. Henkel, 2 volumes and 3 large folders with reproductions; Nijhoff, 'De Graven van Holland' (with respect to the Latin texts, p. 52).

<sup>7</sup> Leiden, University Library, Prentenkabinet/Print Room, ref. 84-n-xvi; 1931 nijh. (1-3), numbers 297, 225, 226 and 227. I thank the University Library authorities and staff for providing me with copies of the four prints.

print in the series is a reproduction of four regal figures, Mary, duchess of Burgundy, her husband Emperor Maximilian I, their son Philip I of Spain, and his son Charles (V). In this reproduction what remains legible of the texts is a line of print containing their names only. The impression may be gained that in the original sixteenth-century print from which the reproduction was made the texts which had been present have been cut away at some time. A possible explanation for this will be offered below. However, the same plate reproduced by E. S. Jacobowitz and S. L. Stepanek from an original in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, does contain four Latin texts, one for each of the principals.<sup>8</sup> These were transcribed and provided earlier with translations into English.<sup>9</sup> A detail which may be significant for dating the woodcut is that Maximilian is shown wearing the imperial crown, but that Charles V is depicted with a king's crown. In other words, perhaps, the *Catalogus* appeared before Charles' election to emperor in 1519. At the time of Charles' majority in January 1515 he was referred to in official announcements and correspondence as 'Prince of Spain', and in 1516 similar letters referred to him as 'King of Castille, Leon and Grenada'.<sup>10</sup> The names of counts and countesses of Holland, thirty-two persons in all, who figure in the eight woodcuts, are given in the table.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Ellen S. Jacobowitz – Stephanie L. Stepanek, *The prints of Lucas van Leyden and his contemporaries* (Washington: Nat. Gallery of Art, 1983), pp. 272-273. Inquiries revealed that the print published by Jacobowitz and Stepanek is the only one of the series in the possession of the Metropolitan Museum, New York. I thank Dr Nadine Orenstein, Metropolitan Museum, New York, for this information. In Steinbart, *Holzschnittwerk*, Table X, No. 42, the same woodcut with Emperor Maximilian and his family is reproduced in a small format (ca. 5 X 3 cm.) The Latin texts have been excised but the names are still legible.

<sup>9</sup> Ward, 'A selection'. CORRECTION: the words '*per deum*' there on p. 132, line 3 should read '*pridem*'. Therefore, the words '*by God's grace*' on p. 132, line 15, should read '*long since*'.

<sup>10</sup> On crowns as a symbol of medieval sovereignty see A. Menzel-Reuters, 'Die goldene Krone. Entwicklungslinien mittelalterlicher Herrschaftssymbolik', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 60 (2004), 135-182 (pp. 173-178), and the ref. to Maximilian I's preferred wearing of an 'Inselkrone mit einem Bügel' (p. 176). For Charles' titles used in correspondence see e.g. Gemeente Archief Dordrecht, Old Archive I, inv. no. 2, letter nr. 144, dated 24 May 1516; printed in Ward, 'A selection', pp. 150-151. Ferdinand of Aragon, Charles' other grandfather, died in 1516, and in the *Catalogus comitum Hollandiae* Charles is referred to as Catholic King of [All] Spain ('*Hispaniarum*'), Ward, 'A selection', p. 132.

<sup>11</sup> By comparison with the French language version (Nijhoff, 'De Graven van Holland') 'Ger...' is Gertruid, the widow of Floris I, and she is considered to be his successor. 'Ro...' is Robert the Frisian, son of the count of Flanders, whom she then married. He is followed by Godefried ('met de Bult'; 'Geoffrey with the Hump'), duke of Lorraine; cf.

In total, therefore, twenty biographies or histories are known with certainty, consisting of the Latin texts accompanying the woodcuts. This is despite the fact that the other three prints which are devoid of texts did have sufficient space available for similar biographies.

Questions which are addressed here are: who was the author of the Latin texts, what were his sources, how accurate are the histories of the counts and countesses of Holland described in the Latin texts, and how are they to be evaluated as examples of sixteenth-century historiography. It will be shown here that Hadrianus Barlandus was the author and, briefly, that his main source was probably the so-called '*Divisiekronek*' of Cornelius Aurelius (c. 1460-1531). The accuracy of the texts is tested against present day knowledge of primary sources for some of the events described in them, and what early sixteenth-century readers might have hoped to derive from them.

H. P. H. Jansen, *Prisma Kalendarium. Geschiedenis van de Lage Landen in Jaargetallen* (Utrecht: Spectrum, 1988), pp. 34, 35, 38, 39, 43, and 253-254, where none of these persons is listed in the table of counts and countesses of Holland.

<sup>12</sup> These are numbers given to the plates by Nijhoff (n. 3 above). To date, no first plate with Latin text is known which might correspond with the first plate in the series with French texts; hence a hiatus, and difficulties of identification. The second number (297 etc.) is the number which they were given when they were printed and placed in the sequence of several hundred prints which Nijhoff collected and had reprinted in the 1930's; cf. note 6 above.

<sup>13</sup> This plate in the folder at Leiden University has no Latin texts. The same plate in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, reproduced in Jacobowitz and Stepanek, *Prints*, does have Latin texts; cf. Ward, 'A selection', pp. 128-129. The number '201' in Nijhoff, 'De Graven van Holland', is an error.

<sup>14</sup> Following the untimely death of Philip I in Spain, Emperor Maximilian was appointed guardian of his grandson Charles V, and Protector (*ruwaard*) of the Burgundian-Habsburg dominions. He appointed his daughter, Margaret of Austria, as regent in the Low Countries.

## TABLE

A Catalog of Woodcuts of the Counts and Countesses of Holland by  
Jacob Cornelisz van Oostzanen, printed and published by Doen Pietersz  
at Amsterdam.

No.	No. in folder	Text	Persons portrayed	Date of reign
(1) <sup>12</sup>	-		-	
2	297	+	Arnulph	988-993
		+	Dirk III	993-1039
		+	Dirk IV	1039-1049
		+	Florence I	1049-1061
3	298		Ger... [sic]	
			Ro... [sic]	
			Godefried	
			Dirk V	1061-1091
4	299		Florence II	1091-1121
			Dirk VI	1121-1157
			Florence III	1157-1190
			Dirk VII	1190-1203
5	225	+	Ada	1203-1213
		+	William I	1203-1222
		+	Florence IV	1222-1234
		+	William II	1234-1256
6	300		Florence V	1256-1296
			John I	1296-1299
			John II	1299-1304
			William III	1304-1337
7	226	+	William IV	1337-1345
		+	Margaret	1345-1354
		+	William V	1349-1358(89)
		+	Albert	1358(89)-1404
8	227	+	William VI	1404-1417
		+	Jacoba of Bavaria	1417-1433
		+	Philip of Burgundy	1433-1467
		+	Charles of Burgundy	1467-1477
9	301 <sup>13</sup>	+	Mary of Burgundy	1477-1482
		+	Maximilian I	1477-1482
		+	Philip I	1482-1506 <sup>14</sup>
		+	Charles V	1515-1555

The final text in the series was devoted to Charles of Habsburg (1500-1558), later Emperor Charles V, who was then still a young man, and there the word '*Catalogus*' was used to describe the whole series which was dedicated to the prince. This series of woodcuts with Latin texts is referred to in the present publication as the *Catalogus comitum Hollandiae* to distinguish it from other books by Barlandus which have the same or similar contents (*De Hollandiae Principibus*), or similar titles (*Catalogus Episcoporum Traiectensium*).

The main arguments of the texts are the succession of one count or countess of Holland by the next, and the opposition which they encountered, or provoked, in their drive to extend their authority within and beyond Holland's borders. For the period from the later Middle Ages onwards (1299-1555), J. G. Smit published a detailed study of the problems which successive counts met at their installation (*huldiging*) in ensuring their personal acceptance, inauguration, and swearing of fealty by their subjects. His study included a glance back to the beginning of the thirteenth century when the succession was disputed between Ada, countess of Holland and her uncle, the later count William I. Smit then moved on to periods in which primary sources become more and more plentiful. A second useful guide to identifying and dating events described in the Latin texts is R. de Graaf's study of wars in and for Holland in the period 1000 to 1375. For the period throughout the Middle Ages, therefore, many of the events recorded in the Latin texts can be identified and dated accurately with the help of these two authors.<sup>15</sup>

## 2. The author of the *Catalogus comitum Hollandiae*

At first, circumstantial evidence pointed to Alardus of Amsterdam (1491-1544) as author of the Latin prose texts.<sup>16</sup> Alardus and the artist Jacob Cornelisz collaborated in the production of a devotional book, published by Doen Pietersz at Amsterdam in 1523, on the Passion of Christ which

<sup>15</sup> Johannes G. Smit, *Vorst en Onderdaan. Studies over Holland en Zeeland in de late Middeleeuwen* (Louvain: Peeters, 1995); see especially Section II entitled '*De Vorsten gehuldigd*', pp. 89-262; Ronald de Graaf, *Oorlog om Holland 1000-1375* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1996).

<sup>16</sup> For an informative and copiously illustrated series of articles on Alardus and his contemporaries see J. F. M. Sterck, 'Onder Amsterdamsche Humanisten', *Het Boek*, 6 (1917), 4-18; 89-107; 165-179; 282-296, and for an introductory article, J. F. M. Sterck, 'Verzen van Alardus Aemstelredamus op Joan van Scorel', *Het Boek*, 3 (1914), 17-22.



contained texts by the former and woodcuts by the latter.<sup>17</sup> This fact led Nijhoff in the 1930's to propose that Alardus might have been the author of the Latin texts in the 'Counts of Holland' series of woodcuts which Nijhoff had in his collection. A. J. Kölker referred to Nijhoff's supposition, but he was unable to find any evidence for the series itself, or that Alardus was the author of the alleged Latin texts. However, Kölker offered the thought that if they did exist then they should probably be dated to 1523, not 1518, the date usually assigned to them.<sup>18</sup> His reasoning, perhaps, was that 'The Passion of Christ' appeared in that year. Kölker also referred to a book with the title, *Libelli III principum Hollandiae*, published by Barlandus at Antwerp in January 1520, but he did not recognize that this might be the same as the *Catalogus comitum Hollandiae* (since he had not seen it), which was supposed by Nijhoff to have been written by Alardus.<sup>19</sup>

The author of the texts, however, was Hadrianus Barlandus (1487-1539), and the *Catalogus comitum Hollandiae* was published perhaps late in 1518 or otherwise early in 1519 (see below).<sup>20</sup> Firstly, the same texts were published under the title *Hollandiae Comitum historia*, with Barlandus as author. Secondly, the texts in the *Catalogus comitum Hollandiae* correspond almost exactly with the passages quoted from it *in toto* by Petrus Scriverius (1576-1660) in the course of his own book and attributed by Scriverius to Barlandus.<sup>21</sup> Scriverius refers, *passim*, expressly to the *Catalogus comitum Hollandiae* by Barlandus.

<sup>17</sup> The *Passio Domini nostri* was published on 2 April 1523; Bob De Graaf, *Alardus Amstelredamus (1491-1544): His life and works, with a bibliography* (Amsterdam: Herzberger, 1958), p. 25.

<sup>18</sup> Nijhoff, *Nederlandsche Houtsneden*, p. 54; Albertus J. Kölker, *Alardus Aemstelredamus en Cornelius Crocus: Twee Amsterdamse Priester-Humanisten. Hun leven, werken en theologische opvattingen* (Nijmegen -Utrecht: Dekker & Van de Vegt, 1963), p. 63, and notes 5 and 6 there. Kölker referred both to Nijhoff, *Nederlandsche Houtsneden*, pp. 53-54 and to Wouter Nijhoff – Marie E. Kronenberg, *Nederlandsche Bibliographie van 1500-1540* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1923), No. 3125, but it appears that Kölker did not see the folders with reproductions, nor Nijhoff's publication, 'De Graven van Holland', in *Het Boek*.

<sup>19</sup> Kölker, *Alardus*, pp. 45-46.

<sup>20</sup> For an earlier biography and a list of Barlandus' then known publications: E. H. J. Reusens, *Biographie Nationale de Belgique*, I (Bruxelles, 1866), coll. 718-722.

<sup>21</sup> The following works by Barlandus are in one volume in the University of Leiden library: Hadrianus Barlandus, *Hadriani Barlandi Hollandiae comitum historia et icones: cum selectis scholiis ad Lectoris lucem. Eiusdem Barlandi Caroli Burgundiae Ducis Vita. Item Ultraiectensium Episcoporum Catalogus et res gestae. Eiusdem argumenti libellus Gerardo Noviomago auctore* (Frankfurt: Sigmund Feyerabend, 1585); cf. Petrus Scriverius,

In 1938 E. Daxhelet published a study of Hadrianus Barlandus, his life, his work and his personality, which contained a bibliography and discussion of Barlandus' known publications. Daxhelet described as Barlandus' 'premier ouvrage sur l'histoire de nos provinces' a book entitled *De Hollandiae Principibus*, published at Antwerp in July 1519. In a more recent (2004) assessment of Barlandus as historiographer S. Bijker and R. Stein listed nine of his works, the second of which is *De Hollandiae principibus*, published in July 1519.<sup>22</sup> Daxhelet described the book's contents in some detail, including the hypothesis that it relied for its information on Cornelius Aurelius' history of Holland, the *Divisiechroniek*, and that it was reprinted both then and later in the sixteenth century.<sup>23</sup>

Barlandus' book of July 1519 was dedicated to members of the Egmond family<sup>24</sup>, and we recall that the *Catalogus comitum Hollandiae* consisting of woodcuts and texts was dedicated to the young Charles (V) of Habsburg. Furthermore, the *Catalogus comitum Hollandiae* was published in Amsterdam, ostensibly while Emperor Maximilian, who died on 12 January 1519, was still alive (see below). The *Catalogus comitum Hollandiae* and the *De Hollandiae Principibus*, although their contents are largely (but by no means entirely) the same, are two separate publications. It may be, therefore, that the *Catalogus comitum Hollandiae* was the earliest publication containing texts by Hadrianus Barlandus relating to the history of the Low Countries. The presence in the *Catalogus comitum Hollandiae* of the woodcuts by Jacob Cornelisz is its main distinguishing

*Principes Hollandiae, Zelandiae et Frisiae, ab anno Christi DCCCLXIII, et primo comite Theodorico usque ad ultimum Philippum Hispaniarum regem* (Haarlem: Soutman, 1650), *passim*. These books by Barlandus and Scriverius are illustrated by completely different series of plates.

<sup>22</sup> S. Bijker – Robert Stein, 'Barlandus en de Brabantse geschiedschrijving', in A. J. Bijsterveld et al. (eds.), *De Kroniek van de hertogen van Brabant door Adrianus Barlandus, vertaling, inleiding en voortzetting* ('s-Hertogenbosch: Heinen, 2004), pp. 10-31. For an overview of Barlandus' historical works and the editions which they went through see pp. 13-15. Barlandus' first book (1515) on a historical subject was about eminent Romans who had advanced the study of letters.

<sup>23</sup> Étienne Daxhelet, *Adrien Barlandus, humaniste belge, 1486-1538: Sa Vie, Son Oeuvre, Sa Personnalité* (Louvain: Uystpruyst, 1938), pp. 98-101. Recently E. González González has announced a revision (to be published) of the beginnings of Barlandus' publishing activities with the printer Dirk Martens of Louvain; E. González González, 'The encounter of Luis Vives (1492/3-1540) and Hadrianus Barlandus (1486-1538) in Louvain', *Lias*, 30 (2003), 172-212 (p. 178, n. 1).

<sup>24</sup> The letter of dedication, dated from Louvain on 21 April 1519, contains the phrase 'quod opusculum in lucem emissurus', which indicates that the author intended to publish the book, but that it had yet to appear. This was the edition of July 1519; Daxhelet, *Barlandus*, pp. 270-271.

feature. Comparison of the dedicatory texts to Charles V, which are readily available, illustrates some of the similarities and differences between the two publications.<sup>25</sup>

### 3. The edition by Petrus Scriverius (Haarlem 1650)

Scriverius in his history of the counts and countesses of Holland quoted extensively from the sources which were available to him.<sup>26</sup> One of his sources was the *Catalogus comitum Hollandiae*, and the quotations which Scriverius used from it are entire; that is to say, he transcribed Barlandus' Latin passages from the *Catalogus comitum Hollandiae* complete. Obvious later differences appear to be editorial in nature. They consist in the use of an italic instead of a gothic font in the Frankfurt edition of Barlandus (1585) and a roman font in Scriverius' book of 1650, normalisation of spelling, changes in capitalisation and spelling of proper names, and with marginal notes by Scriverius providing comment or correction. Some examples will be given below in the transcriptions and in the English translations accompanying the Latin texts.

The three text variations which have been identified in the present investigation differ one from another in detail. It appears that Barlandus or Scriverius, or another editor or editors, augmented some of the Latin texts with material from a book or books by Barlandus which are referred to as *Historia comitum Hollandiae* and *Chronica Ducum*, i.e. the chronicle of the dukes of Brabant (see n. 22). The edition of 1585, published at Frankfurt under Barlandus' name with the title *Hollandiae comitum Historia* contains words, phrases, entire passages and commentaries in addition to what appeared in the *Catalogus comitum Hollandiae*. However, it is an easy matter to find the original passages of the earlier version both in the Frankfurt edition of 1585 and Scriverius' edition of 1650. The various texts await a critical examination and comparison which goes beyond the scope of the present publication.

There is, however, another point to be made from a reading of Scriverius' histories of the counts and countesses of Holland. It was remarked above that a number of Jacob Cornelisz' woodcut prints are

<sup>25</sup> Ward, 'A selection', p. 132; Daxhelet, *Barlandus*, pp. 271-272, where a longer version of the dedication to Charles which appeared in *De Hollandiae Principibus* (Frankfurt, 1585) is reprinted.

<sup>26</sup> Scriverius, *Principes Hollandiae*, passim.

devoid of Latin texts even although there was sufficient space provided on the sheets (see Table). Nonetheless, most of the 'missing' counts and countesses were duly described by Barlandus in his later books, and the relevant passages are in Scriverius' book also.<sup>27</sup> A peculiarity, however, is that they are attributed there to Barlandus' *Catalogus comitum Hollandiae*! Assuming that this attribution is correct, it implies obviously that there are, or were, copies of the woodcuts complete with Latin texts for all the counts and countesses of Holland, and that Scriverius either possessed or had access to them.

A second point is that in the Frankfurt edition of 1585 Barlandus' series of counts and countesses begins ostensibly with Dirk I who is named in the first chapter heading. This is the traditional starting point for the counts of Holland, and in the series of woodcuts with French texts Dirk I and Dirk II are indeed the two earliest counts illustrated by Jacob Cornelisz.<sup>28</sup> In fact, however, Barlandus begins the first paragraphs by introducing Charles the Bald (823-877), emperor of the West. Scriverius, referring expressly to the *Catalogus comitum Hollandiae* by Barlandus, also begins with Charles the Bald.<sup>29</sup> This raises the possibility that in addition to the missing plate no. 1 (see Table) in Nijhoff's series of woodcuts by Jacob Cornelisz, with portraits of Dirk I and Dirk II and Latin texts, there may be a plate, as yet unrecognized, representing Charles the Bald.

#### 4. Barlandus' sources

It would be impracticable in the present publication to examine every detail of the *Catalogus comitum Hollandiae* for clues to Barlandus' sources, but a few remarks can be made to indicate lines of investigation. In the description of Florence I of Holland, there is the phrase '*Habent annales*', the annals relate. References to the burials of Arnulph, Dirk III and Dirk IV at Egmond make it appear that the author of the Latin texts

<sup>27</sup> For example, in Scriverius' edition of *Principes Hollandiae* (Haarlem, 1650): Gertruid, p. 29; Godefried, p. 32; Dirk V, p. 35; Florence II, p. 39; Dirk VI, p. 43; Florence III, p. 45; Dirk VII, p. 49; Florence V, p. 65; John (Jan) I, p. 69; and John (Jan) II, p. 73. In the later sources all the texts can be read conveniently, if desired, without having recourse to medieval contractions used in the *Catalogus comitum Hollandiae*.

<sup>28</sup> Nijhoff, 'De Graven van Holland', p. 51, and the first illustration there.

<sup>29</sup> Scriverius, *Principes Hollandiae*, p. 4. For Charles the Bald cf. Jansen, *Kalendarium*, p. 28.

had access to, or knowledge of the annals of the oldest monastery in Holland, or that he had access to a work which itself reflected the annals of Egmond. There is evidence that the author, emulating the classical historians, had a critical spirit. Examples are when he writes 'it is believed...', 'the annals relate...', 'I did not discover the cause...', 'even this however is not enough to explain...', and once he allows himself a personal opinion in describing the opposition which Count Adelbert met: 'the better party won from the larger'. But did Barlandus search the annals for the earlier period himself or was he quoting from another more readily available source, Aurelius' history of Holland called the '*Divisie-kroniek*'?<sup>30</sup> This may in fact have been the case; '... il [Barlandus] avait trop de bon sens pour prétendre qu'il offrait des informations de toute première main. S'il ne l'a pas déclaré formellement dans ses écrits, c'est que l'indication de références n'était pas de rigueur à son époque, où tout le monde, d'ailleurs, connaissait la fameuse 'Cronycke' de Hollande'.<sup>31</sup> However, there is evidence from other sources indicating that Barlandus had direct access to historical information in Holland, if he so wished, through his association and friendship with Alardus of Amsterdam and Meinardus Man, abbot at Egmond (see below).<sup>32</sup>

Dates in the Latin texts of the woodcuts are, for the most part, concordant with those in the annals and chronicles of Egmond, and with those

<sup>30</sup> Editions of the *Divisie-kroniek* which I have examined are: Cornelius Aurelius, *Die Cronijcke van Hollandt, Zeelant ende Vrieslant*, Antwerp 1530, and the edition published by Aelbrecht Heydricksz at Delft in 1591. The Delft (post-Reformation) edition of 1591 has a preface in the form of 'A warning to the Christian Reader' that the original contains naive and superstitious stories, but that nonetheless the current edition has been printed 'volghende met alder trouwe van woerde te woerde dat alder corecste vande oude exemplaren dat wy hebben weten te becomen'. For a detailed study of the *Divisie-kroniek* see Karin Tilmans, *Historiography and Humanism in Holland in the Age of Erasmus: Aurelius and the Divisie-kroniek of 1517* (Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1992); translated from Karin Tilmans, *Aurelius en de Divisie-kroniek van 1517: Historiografie en humanisme in Holland in de tijd van Erasmus* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1988).

<sup>31</sup> Daxhelet, *Barlandus*, pp. 99, 125, especially p. 128.

<sup>32</sup> On the question of the authorship of chronicles and histories of Holland I refer readers to the monographs of Van Anrooij, Tilmans, Daxhelet, De Graaf and Kölker, to the editions of Oppermann and Roefs (below), and to the series *Egmondse Studies* published by Verloren, Hilversum, especially to Vol. 1 by G. N. M. Vis – Marco Mostert – P. J. Margry (eds.), *Heiligenlevens, Annalen en Kronieken: Geschiedschrijving in middeleeuws Egmond* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1990). See there articles by P. H. D. Leupen, 'Egmond en zijn bronnen', pp. 23-34, and C. P. H. M. Tilmans, 'De Hollandse kroniek van Willem Hermans ontdekt: Een Egmondse codex uit ca. 1514', pp. 169-191. Volume 4 is the most recent in the series by G. N. M. Vis (ed.), *De abdij van Egmond: Geschreven en beschreven* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2002), with an index (pp. 161-162) to all articles in the series.

now accepted. The year of Dirk IV's death and funeral, given as 1048, is the accepted date (1049) if allowance is made for counting the years from Easter, together with the fact that Dirk IV died on 13 January. It is stated in the text that the victory of Florence I over the archbishop of Cologne was in the year 1062, and that it was followed shortly afterwards by Florence's death. The year of Florence I's death is now given as 1061. Easter in 1061 fell on 16 April. Florence I died on 28 June, but that was reckoned by the chronist as 1062. Count William II's death is dated to 28 January [1256], and this corresponds with the date in the Egmond annals.<sup>33</sup> Finally, if there were any doubts about the correctness of the data, there is some corroborative evidence from an independent source for the comet seen in Holland in 1018 during the reign of Dirk III.<sup>34</sup> As a guide to individual persons and events footnotes have been added below to some of the English translations as a brief commentary or as an indication for further investigations.

A comparison of the *Catalogus comitum Hollandiae* with the *Divisie-kroniek* supports the view that it was the latter which provided Barlandus with much of his information. Two examples from many may suffice to illustrate that. As a first example the status of the countess Ada, surviving daughter of count Dirk VII, has been disputed by historians. Some historians include her as a countess of Holland in her own right, some deny her this status, others hesitate.<sup>35</sup> But Aurelius in the *Divisie-kroniek* did accord Ada the status of countess of Holland, 'although she ruled for only one year and left no children'.<sup>36</sup> Similarly, Barlandus in his *Catalogus comitum Hollandiae* included Ada as countess of Holland, although

<sup>33</sup> 'interemptus est v kalendas Februarii'; Victor J. G. Roefs, O. Carm., *De Egmondsche Abtenkroniek van Iohannes a Leydis O. Carm.* (Sittard: Alberts, 1942), p. 164.

<sup>34</sup> This may have been the large comet which Chinese astronomers sighted on 4 August 1018 and which remained visible for 37 days; John Williams, *Observations of comets from B.C. 611 to A.D. 1640: Extracted from the Chinese annals* (London: Strangeways and Walden, 1871), p. xxxii (Table) and p. 56. But elsewhere we read: 'Anno MXVII cometes in modum trabis apparuit per IIII menses'; Otto Oppermann (ed.), *Annales Egmondenses* (Utrecht: Kemink, 1933), p. 27. Sriverius corrected some of Barlandus' errors of chronology.

<sup>35</sup> Jansen includes Ada as countess of Holland with her husband Louis of Loon, but refers to the contested succession; *Kalendarium*, Table on p. 253. See Smit: 'Ada... weliswaar... gravin... maar...' in Smit, *Vorst en Onderdaan*, pp. 93-94; cf. also the ambiguous phrase: 'overeenkomstig haar status' ('in accord with her status') which was used for after she was imprisoned by her uncle William I; De Graaf, *Oorlog om Holland*, section 'De Loonse Oorlog', pp. 312-321; especially pp. 314-315.

<sup>36</sup> Tilmans, *Historiography and Humanism*, p. 129, n. 41; Tilmans, *Aurelius en de Divisie-kroniek*, p. 83, n. 41.

his description is also short and refers only to the war of succession. Nevertheless, her status was clear because her marriage to the count of Loon meant '*tantum coniugium*' ('so great a marriage') for him that it excited the envy of his rivals.

But on one point at least Barlandus was wrong, and this provides another pointer to the *Divisiechroniek* as source. Count William I of Holland is described in the *Divisiechroniek*, incorrectly, as having claimed the crown of Scotland on the death of his uncle William the Lion of Scotland in 1214. The assertion appears also in the *Catalogus comitum Hollandiae*. Scriverius later corrected Barlandus on this point.<sup>37</sup> The background to this story is that in 1162 count Dirk III of Holland married Ada (called Ada of Scotland), a sister of king Malcolm IV of Scotland. This is corroborated by chronicles in Holland and in Scotland.<sup>38</sup> J. A. Kossmann-Putto has commented on the anomaly that the marriage did not fit into the normal pattern of the dynasty of Holland, where the counts as a rule took their brides from the Empire.<sup>39</sup> Malcolm IV died without issue, and count Florence V of Holland asserted later that the right of succession had passed to Ada's issue. There can be no doubt then that in 1291 Florence V claimed the Scottish crown on those grounds. His claim was taken seriously at that time.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>37</sup> For William I of Holland: Aurelius, *Divisiechroniek*, Antwerp edn. 1530, fol. 156-156v; Delft edn. 1591, p. 91; 'Errat Barlandus...', Scriverius, *Principes Hollandiae*, marginal note p. 53.

<sup>38</sup> 'Anno Mclxii Florentius comes Holtlandie sororem regis Scottorum nomine Ada cum magno navium apparatu, ornatu et milicia advectam duxit uxorem'; Oppermann (ed.), *Annales Egmundenses*, p. 66. Similarly, Alan O. Anderson – Marjorie O. Anderson – William C. Dickinson (eds.), *The Chronicle of Melrose from the Cottonian manuscript* (facsimile edn. London, 1936), fol. [36]; 'Ada soror Malcolmi nupsit Florentio nobili comiti Holthlandie', Marjorie O. Anderson and Alan O. Anderson (eds.), *A Scottish Chronicle known as the Chronicle of Holyrood* (Edinburgh, 1938), p. 139.

<sup>39</sup> J. A. Kossmann-Putto, 'Florence V, Count of Holland, Claimant to the Scottish Throne', in G. G. Simpson (ed.), *Scotland and the Low Countries 1124-1994* (East Linton, 1996), pp. 15-27 (p. 16). See also Erich H. P. Cordfunke, *Gravinnen van Holland: Huwelijk en huwelijkspolitiek van de graven van het Hollandse Huis* (Zutphen: Walburg Press, 1987), and for Ada of Scotland pp. 69-72.

<sup>40</sup> In 1291 the three main contenders for the Scottish crown were John Baliol (1249-1315), Robert Bruce (1274-1329) and Florence V of Holland (died 1296). Historians agree that Baliol had the best claim, and indeed with the backing of king Edward I of England he won the legal argument. But Edward in 1296 deposed Baliol after the latter adopted a pro-French policy. This opened the way for Bruce who finally won Scotland's war of independence. At the time of the succession dispute, in a move which suggests that neither of them was sure of his legal cause, Bruce and Florence V made a written agreement to share the spoils in the event of either of them winning; Grant G. Simpson, 'The Claim of Florence, Count of Holland, to the Scottish Throne, 1291-2', *The Scottish Historical*

One can only speculate on why this story of count William I of Holland having claimed the Scottish crown had credence in Holland at the beginning of the sixteenth century and later. How did it originate, where and when? We need, probably, look no further than courtly circles round count Florence V himself. Significantly, his chronicle writer Melis Stoke did not refer to William I's claim in the *Rijmkroniek van Holland* written about the beginning of the fourteenth century, but he did express deep resentment towards unnamed advisors of Florence V, following the subsequent failure of the enterprise.<sup>41</sup> It appears to have passed into the national consciousness of a historically interested readership in Holland at a time of incipient nation founding, and it was taken up by Aurelius and Barlandus in the early sixteenth century.

A contributing factor may have been that for a long time there was uncertainty, especially for the earlier years, about events and dates of count William I's life and reign.<sup>42</sup> But Van Hemert's remark in the eighteenth century, when he appealed to logic, struck a critical note similar to Scriverius': 'Likewise, we do not hesitate to say that everything our chronicles prattle (*beuzelen*) about William being a contender for the kingdom of Scotland are simply illusions'.<sup>43</sup> Van Hemert pointed out that the problem of the succession in Scotland did not exist until it came unexpectedly to a climax towards the end of the thirteenth century in the time of Florence V. By the eighteenth century Holland had made its place in the world and had no need of earlier myths and fables.<sup>44</sup>

*Review*, 36 (1957), 111-124; Geoffrey W. S. Barrow, *Robert Bruce and the Community of the Realm of Scotland*, 3rd edn (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Univ. Press, 1988), pp. 39-49. See also Kossmann-Putto, 'Florence V', for a fuller historical background.

<sup>41</sup> W. G. Brill (ed.), *Rijmkroniek van Melis Stoke*, Werken van het Historisch Genootschap gevestigd te Utrecht, new series no. 40 (Utrecht: Kemink, 1885), pp. 248-249, Book IV, lines 793-805. For the period of count William I, see pp. 131-138; J. W. J. Burgers, *De Rijmkroniek van Holland en zijn auteurs: Historiografie in Holland door de Anonymus (1280-1282) en de grafelijke klerk Melis Stoke (begin veertiende eeuw)* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1999), pp. 306-307.

<sup>42</sup> Van Anrooij, *De Haarlemse gravenportretten*, p. 139, commentary on verses 210-211; cf. 'Toch is het niet duidelijk of Willem bij de aanvallen in Holland persoonlijk aanwezig was...', De Graaf, *Oorlog om Holland*, p. 315.

<sup>43</sup> 'Insgelyks schromen wy niet te zeggen, dat al het geen onze jaarboeken van Willem, als mededinger naar het Ryk van Schotland beuzelen, enkele herssenschimmen zyn'; Johan M. van Hemert, *Korte levensbeschryving der Hollandsche Graven* (Gorinchem: Niclaas Goetsee, 1749), p. 145. For Florence V, pp. 169-70 and 178-9.

<sup>44</sup> But the story of Florence V lives on. A play in English blank verse entitled *Floris, Count of Holland: A play in five acts* (Amsterdam: Polak & Van Gennep, 1976), was published under the name of Niels Kobet, a pseudonym for Frits Bolkestein, from 1999



### 5. Barlandus and early sixteenth-century historiography

Apart from this lapse about William I, the standard of accuracy in the Latin texts accompanying Jacob Cornelisz' woodcuts is as high as that of its sources. By omitting to identify his sources Barlandus does not immediately come up to the level of later sixteenth-century historical writing and criticism, e.g. of Dousa<sup>45</sup>, but in any case that was hardly to be expected at that time, and in a publication of that kind.

Nonetheless, the *Catalogus comitum Hollandiae*, with the woodcuts of the counts and countesses and their biographies, provides an attractive and easy entry into the history of Holland, suitable for the tastes and requirements of many readers. In the limited amount of textual space available Barlandus provided in a narrative style a good amount of detailed and adventuresome information and hard fact which was aimed at pleasing and instructing. It may very well have appealed to the readership whom he, and no doubt the printer Doen Pietersz of Amsterdam, envisaged. The words *ad lectoris lucem* in the title of one of Barlandus' publications (n. 21 above) expressed clearly his educational intentions.

The combination of the texts with the woodcuts still has an appeal which may be likened to that of any number of present day, good popular illustrated history books for young and old. The Latin narrative texts in a clear and direct style might still be read profitably by younger readers and students as adjuncts to learning Latin and to the history of Holland.<sup>46</sup> For older readers they may also have the charm and human interest of *belles-lettres* or even of a novel; see e.g. the story of Floris IV,

European Commissioner for Internal Market and Taxation Affairs. The play's main theme is Florence V and *hubris*. For references to Scotland and Florence's claim to the crown see pp. 28, 44, 46, 68, 72, 101, 110, 122 and 126.

<sup>45</sup> Herman Kampinga, *De Opvattingen over onze Oudere Vaderlandsche Geschiedenis bij de Hollandsche Historici der XVIe en XVIIe Eeuw* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1917), pp. 25-37. Compare also: '... een productief historicus. Toch is hier een zekere relativering op zijn plaats', Bijker and Stein, 'Barlandus', p. 14.

<sup>46</sup> On Barlandus' style: '... meestal drukt Barlandus zich uit in een tamelijk eenvoudige zakelijke stijl...', Michiel Verweij, Inleiding op de '*Rerum gestarum a Brabantiae ducibus historia*' in Arnoud Bijsterveld et al. (eds.), *De Kroniek van de hertogen van Brabant*; pp. 32-39; especially p. 39; cf. Daxhelet, *Barlandus*, pp. 124-128. On narrative history see also Lawrence Stone, 'The revival of narrative: Reflections on a New Old History', *Past & Present*, 85 (1987), pp. 3-24, reprinted in L. Stone, *The Past and the Present Revisited* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1997), pp. 74-96. For the teaching of Latin, Manfred Fuhrmann, *Cäsar oder Erasmus? Die alten Sprachen jetzt und morgen* (Tübingen: Klöpfer & Meyer, 1995).

and how he met his end. The classical style and content of the Latin prose texts in the *Catalogus comitum Hollandiae* should be compared with the rustic style and more limited information contained in the related rhymed Middle Dutch texts, and in the terse French texts which were also accompanied by the woodcuts of Jacob Cornelisz. As Van Anrooij pointed out, the anonymous authors of the Middle Dutch texts had to use valuable space with 'filler' lines ('stoplappen') in order to maintain the rhyme and rhythm of their stories.<sup>47</sup>

The texts of the *Catalogus comitum Hollandiae* are replete with features and with sentiments which reflect Barlandus' didactic aims, his preferences and his prejudices. There is, first of all, the subject matter coupled with the choice of a narrative prose style of Latin which underlines the author's didactic aims. Secondly, there is his remarkable description of Louvain. He was fullsome in his praise of the university, although duke John (Jan) IV of Brabant, Jacoba of Bavaria's second husband and founder of the university, is not mentioned by name. It can scarcely be doubted that this passage was included purposefully, among other things, to strike a chord of remembrance in those readers who had studied at Louvain, and perhaps to underline that the writer himself was a 'Louvain' man. Barlandus wrote a similar eulogy in praise of Louvain and its university in another of his books about that time.<sup>48</sup>

## 6. Publication date of the *Catalogus comitum Hollandiae*

In an attempt to establish its date of publication attention was directed to the text in the *Catalogus comitum Hollandiae* which describes Emperor Maximilian who, apparently, was still alive when it was written. Maximilian had waged war almost continuously since 1477 when he took on the task of conserving his wife's inheritance, following her fatal accident, and winning back where he could Burgundian territories which had been lost to France. He had been largely succesful in restoring the

<sup>47</sup> Van Anrooij, *De Haarlemse Gravenportretten*, p. 36. Examples in Middle-Netherlands are (p. 38): 'soo ick bevroeden can'; 'soo ick versta', etc.

<sup>48</sup> Alois Bömer, *Die lateinischen Schülergespräche der Humanisten. Quellen für die Schul- und Universitätsgeschichte des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1897, repr. Amsterdam: Schippers, 1966), pp. 113-127; with a translation (p. 126) of the 'Louvain' eulogy into German and a reference to Barlandus' *Opusculum de insignibus oppidis inferioris Germaniae*, edition of 1526. In his later books Barlandus did mention duke John (Jan) IV of Brabant expressly in a longer and more detailed description of Louvain.

position of the ruling house in the Low Countries.<sup>49</sup> The events of Maximilian's regency periods, and his hard-handed suppression of revolts in Flanders and in Holland are alluded to in veiled terms in the Latin text which accompanies his effigy, and this may conceal one of Barlandus' prejudices against the nobility. After stating that 'it is neither customary to write of these things, nor whether I should write of all the other things', the author of the texts continued: 'for our people do not want anything put into writing, unless very succinctly, concerning those who live by force'.<sup>50</sup> But despite the author's caution, how remarkable is his closing wish for Maximilian in the *Catalogus comitum Hollandiae*: that he should live a Tithonian lifetime!<sup>51</sup> With the effigy of Maximilian I as emperor and the representation of Charles V crowned as king, this implies that Maximilian, who died on 12 January 1519, was still living when those lines were first written. It is from this that the publication date of the *Catalogus comitum Hollandiae* is usually given as 1518.

Bömer described Barlandus as having 'an Erasmian tendency to satirical expression', and 'an irreconcilable hatred of the nobility and of profligate clergy'.<sup>52</sup> Was the Tithonus remark a joke on Barlandus' part? If it was a joke, then it was a rather dangerous one. Lese-majesty was a capital crime which received the full attention of the imperial jurist Philip Wielant (1441-1520) in the early sixteenth century.<sup>53</sup> Emperor Maximilian

<sup>49</sup> Hermann Wiesflecker, *Kaiser Maximilian I: Das Reich, Österreich und Europa an der Wende zur Neuzeit*, 5 vols (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1971-1986); see also Willem P. Blockmans, 'Autocratie ou polyarchie? La lutte pour le pouvoir politique en Flandre de 1482 à 1492 d'après des documents inédits', *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire*, 140 (1974), 257-368, and J. Dumolyn, 'The legal repression of revolts in late medieval Flanders', *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis/The Legal History Review*, 68 (2000), 479-521.

<sup>50</sup> 'nolunt enim homines nostri nisi restrictissime aliquid litteris mandari de iis qui vi vivunt'; Ward, 'A selection', 130-131.

<sup>51</sup> Ward, 'A selection', 131 and note 14 there. Zeus granted Tithonus, prince of Troy, eternal life at the wish of the goddess Eos whose lover Tithonus was. They both recognized too late that she had wanted him to have eternal youth. Immortal although he now was, he grew older and older. Eos finally out of pity for him, and because of his gnarled limbs, turned him into a grasshopper; see H. C. Ackermann (ed.), *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, VIII (Zürich - Düsseldorf, 1997), pp. 34-36; Pauly - Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, 2nd Ser., 6 (Stuttgart, 1937), coll. 1512-1519; W. H. Roscher (ed.), *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, V (Leipzig, 1916-1924), coll. 1021-1029.

<sup>52</sup> Bömer, *Die lateinischen Schülergespräche*, pp. 126-127. In the French text the wish for a long life for Maximilian is expressed more conventionally: 'Qu'il poeult longuement vivre... en bonne sante'; Van Anrooij, *De Haarlemse gravenportretten*, p. 195.

<sup>53</sup> Philip Wielant (1441-1520) was a privy councillor and vice-president of the Grote Raad (High Court) at Mechelen; E. Strubbe, 'Wielant, Philippe', *Biographie nationale*,

would no doubt have been happy with a reference to Troy, from whose dynasty the princes of Europe were only too glad to claim descent. But then perhaps to Hector or Priamus rather than Tithonus. It will be recalled that the woodcut with Emperor Maximilian and his family in Nijhoff's collection (above) had been mutilated by having the texts cut off. While many possible reasons could be adduced for removal of the texts, possession of the print with those jibes directed against Maximilian might have been regarded as subversive, and that could be the reason why the sixteenth-century print was mutilated. In editions of the *Hollandiae comitum Historia* which appeared in 1585 and 1620 the reference to Maximilian's use of force and bloodshed was omitted, and the whole passage much softened.<sup>54</sup>

## 7. Epilog

A number of other questions might be asked concerning the sources from which the *Catalogus* was compiled, and about how and when it came to be published, but they are only alluded to here. What was the relationship between Alardus of Amsterdam and Hadrianus Barlandus? Kölker described Barlandus as a protector of Alardus, and that Alardus called

XXVII (1938), 279-298; Jan Buntinx, 'Wielant, Filips', *Nationaal Biografisch Woordenboek*, V (1972), 1009-1019; Jos Monballyu (ed.), *Filips Wielant. Verzamelde werken I. Corte instructie in materiën criminele* (Brussels, 1995). Wielant's 'Instructie' appeared in 1510. To show how sensitive the issue of lese-majesty was: in 1508 the regent Margaret of Austria, Emperor Maximilian's daughter, threatened the magistrates of Leiden with a charge of lese-majesty because they had convened a diet (*dagvaart*) of the main cities of Holland without her knowledge or permission; James P. Ward, 'Cities and States of Holland: A participative system of government under strain' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Leiden, 2001), pp. 41-46.

<sup>54</sup> In the edition of the *Hollandiae comitum Historia* published at Frankfurt in 1585, p. 275, the remark about Tithonus and the sentiment expressed in n. 50 had been changed to: 'Haec tum ab eo adhuc Comite gesta, quae postea gesserit Imperator adeo multa sunt et varia, ut separatim volumen requirant. Illud solum adjiciam, huius morte Principis nihil accidere potuisse luctuosius rebus humanis, et utinam sine sanguine huic successorem inveniat orbis'. Clearly, these words were written after Maximilian's death, i.e. after 12 Jan. 1519. The author felt a whole book would be needed to describe Maximilian's deeds, and he hoped that the world would find a successor to him who was free of bloodshed. Afterwards, with experience of Charles V, Barlandus softened his opinion of Emperor Maximilian further when he remarked that the bitterness of the times which followed the death of Maximilian caused his loss to be felt even more keenly; Michiel Verweij, 'Geschiedenis van de daden van de hertogen van Brabant door Adrianus Barlandus' in Bijsterveld et al. (eds.), *Kroniek van de Hertogen van Brabant*, p. 208. But for the earlier, harsher judgement see Ward, 'A selection', 130-131.

Barlandus an experienced historian.<sup>55</sup> It has been shown elsewhere that Alardus was a frequent visitor to the monastery at Egmond where the abbot, Meinardus Man, was a kinsman of his. Alardus was interested in and well informed about the archives of the monastery and the art treasures there, including the painted portraits of the counts and countesses of Holland.<sup>56</sup> Barlandus praised Meinardus Man in one of his works.<sup>57</sup> Did Alardus or Man provide Barlandus with some of the information which is included in the *Catalogus comitum Hollandiae* and the *Historia*, or influence him in his choice?

What was the relationship, if any, between Barlandus and Doen Pietersz, the Amsterdam printer? When we recall that in the same years of the early sixteenth century Doen Pietersz and Alardus of Amsterdam worked together on the production of the 'Passion of Christ', was the publication of Barlandus' texts by Doen Pietersz at Amsterdam an initiative undertaken or supervised by Alardus? Despite prolonged search in contemporary correspondences, histories and travelogues, these questions remain unanswered.

Why, when the initial letters of Gertruid and of Robert the Frisian had been set by the printer (see Table), were these and ten other woodcut portraits of the counts of Holland published without the biographies? Was Doen Pietersz perhaps in haste to get his product onto the market? A possible scenario is that when news of Emperor Maximilian's death in January 1519 reached Brabant and Holland, Barlandus, or perhaps even Alardus, revised some of the passages in the book which Barlandus was then working on, reducing them in size in order to make them fit the space available under Jacob Cornelisz' woodcuts. This would provide an explanation for some of the rather abrupt transitions in the texts of the *Catalogus comitum Hollandiae*.<sup>58</sup> That would then place the publication date of the *Catalogus comitum Hollandiae* in January 1519, or soon thereafter.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>55</sup> Kölker, *Alardus*, p. 45. In a letter to John Valladolid (Valeolaetus) from Louvain dated 5 Jan. 1520 Alardus wrote 'Hadrianum Barlandum, virum non minus integrum, quam literatum, in quo nullam consummati historici laudem desideres'; Daxhelet, *Barlandus*, letter no. 35, pp. 277-281; p. 278.

<sup>56</sup> For Alardus of Amsterdam and his relationship to the monastery at Egmond see De Graaf, *Alardus*, pp. 13-14, 19, 30-31 and 34; Kölker, *Alardus*, pp. 11 and 20.

<sup>57</sup> Daxhelet, *Barlandus*, p. 99; cf. p. 277.

<sup>58</sup> Examples of abrupt transitions are the item on Jacoba of Bavaria in which her husband duke John (Jan) IV of Brabant is not named directly, and the item on Philip the Good into which the Dauphin is introduced without prior explanation.

<sup>59</sup> Following 12 Jan. 1519, Emperor Maximilian's body was displayed on public for two days, and news of his death spread quickly to Venice, Rome and Paris; Wiesflecker,

Finally, it seems remarkable that Scriverius in his own book of 1650 refers to and quotes from the '*Catalogus comitum Hollandiae*' rather than to subsequent editions with similar titles published at Antwerp in 1519 and at Frankfurt in 1585. This may be a reflection of the value which he and others still placed on the '*Catalogus*', with its impressive complement of woodcuts by Jacob Cornelisz. A closer reading of the various texts and a possible future discovery of the still missing first plate with Dirk I and Dirk II of Holland (cf. Table and n. 12) may some day help to resolve these questions.

In conclusion, the authorship of the texts in the *Catalogus comitum Hollandiae* is known with certainty. As Petrus Scriverius and others knew formerly, it is the work of Hadrianus Barlandus (1487-1539). The *Catalogus* together with woodcuts by Jacob Cornelisz van Oostzanen was printed and published at Amsterdam by Doen Pietersz, perhaps before the publication of Barlandus' similar book *Hollandiae comitum Historia* at Antwerp in July 1519.

#### **8. Texts by Hadrianus Barlandus in a Catalog of the Counts and Countesses of Holland, with woodcuts by Jacob Cornelisz van Oostzanen, and published by Doen Pietersz at Amsterdam**

Punctuation has been added. Contractions have been resolved using accepted spellings. Spelling variants which occur in the texts are given without change or comment (*c/t*, *prelprae*, *felfoe*, *flph*, *e* for *ae* in genitives, datives and plurals). Original printing errors have been corrected and they are referred to in footnotes. Additional references to Aurelius and the *Divisiechroniek*, and information about persons and events identified is included in footnotes accompanying the translations.<sup>60</sup>

*Kaiser Maximilian I*, IV, 430-432. Guillaume Budé, writing from Paris to Erasmus at Louvain in a letter dated 1 Feb. 1519 remarked briefly on effects which the emperor's death was already having in France; R. A. B. Mynors – D. F. S. Thomson – Peter G. Bietenholz (eds.), *The Correspondence of Erasmus: Collected Works of Erasmus* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1982), VI, 236.

<sup>60</sup> Sources of information are: P. J. Blok et al. (eds.), *Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, 15 vols (Bussum, 1978-1982); P. C. Molhuysen – P. J. Blok – F. K. H. Kossman (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek*, 10 vols (Leiden, 1911-1937), contracted here to *NNBW*; H. P. H. Jansen, *Geschiedenis van de Middeleeuwen*, revised by D. J. Faber and J. M. Van Marrewijk (Utrecht, 1988); Jansen, *Kalendarium*.

*De Arnulpho comite*; Arnulphus tertius Hollandie comes Theodrico patri successit, qui cum tota fere vita cum Phrisiis bella gessisset, ad postremum etiam gravi proelio in quodam Westphrisie agro ab iisdem superatus occiditur, non sine maximo dolore suorum, a quibus et ipse Haecmondam exanimis deportatus in maiorum conditorium reponitur. Quinquennio tantum prefuit sed summo cum honore, sed perpetuis bellorum procellis obrutus, sed clanculariis inimicorum insidiis exagitatus.

Count Arnulph: Arnulph, the third count of Holland, succeeded his father Dirk [II]. Almost all his life he waged war against the Frisians. At the very end he was killed when overcome by them in a serious battle in an area of West Friesland. This caused very great sorrow among his followers who, when he had been carried lifeless to Egmond, placed him in the tomb of his forefathers. He reigned for only five years, but with the greatest honour, although he was overwhelmed by continuous storms of wars and unsettled by the secret treacheries of his enemies.<sup>61</sup>

*De Theodrico tertio*: Theodricus tertius huius nominis, defuncto patre Arnulpho, rexit Hollandiam; huius principatu multis diebus fulsit in ea regione stella crinita, quam subsequutum est bellum Traiectense. In quo cesis utrimque multis haud obscuri nominis principibus, captus etiam Adebodus loci praesul abducitur in Hollandiam ubi comitis iussu diu multumque custoditus mansit, cum propositas sibi condiciones abnuisset. Creditur eius belli praecipua causa fuisse quod Adebodo instigante Phrisii rebellassent, in quos postea, ut patris necem ulcisceretur, Theodricus ingentibus copiis egressus, incensis eorum villis agrisque late vastatis, omnem brevi regionem sue ditionis fecit. Cumque bello victis Florentium iuniorem filium<sup>62</sup> praefecisset, ipse victorem exercitum reduxit in Hollandiam. Postea idem Hierosolimam profectus ut dominicum sepulchrum voto inviseret, in reditu mortem obiit. Corpus eius Haecmunde illatum tumulo maiorum. Prefuit autem sex et quadraginta annis.

Dirk III: Following the death of his father Arnulph, Dirk, the third of this name, ruled Holland. During his sovereignty a comet shone in that region for many days. It was followed by the Utrecht war [1018] in which

<sup>61</sup> Arnulf succeeded his father Dirk II (939-988) and reigned from 988 to 993; *NNBW*, I, 182; Roefs, *De Egmondsche Abtenkroniek*, p. 125; Jansen, *Kalendarium*, table on p. 253; De Graaf, *Oorlog om Holland*, p. 215. For evidence of injuries to Arnulf's skull, and his burial at Egmond see B. K. S. Dijkstra, *Een stamboom in been: Vier eeuwen graven en gravinnen van het Hollandse Huis: Onderzoek van de stoffelijke resten opgegraven op het terrein van de voormalige Abdijkerken te Rijnsburg in 1949 en 1951 en te Egmond in 1979 en 1980 en aangetroffen in de tombe in de Abdijkerk te Middelburg in 1980* (Amsterdam: De Bataafsche Leeuw, 1991), p. 102.

<sup>62</sup> Text: 'filii'.

many prominent leading men were killed on both sides. Even Adelbold, the bishop of the place, was captured and taken to Holland. There at the command of the count he remained in close custody for a long time because he rejected the conditions which were offered to him. It is believed that the chief cause of that war was because the Frisians, with Adelbold urging them on, had rebelled.<sup>63</sup> Afterwards, in order to avenge his father's violent death, Dirk marched against them with very large forces, burnt their farm houses, laid waste their fields far and wide, and in a short time made the whole region subject to himself.<sup>64</sup> And after he had placed his younger son Florence in command of those conquered in the war, he himself led his victorious army back to Holland. Afterwards he also went to Jerusalem so that he might visit the Holy Sepulchre as he had vowed. He died on the return journey and his body was placed in the tomb of his forefathers at Egmond. He governed for forty-six years.<sup>65</sup>

*De Theodrico quarto:* Post defunctum patrem Theodericus quartus comes fuit qui Leodii, quo ludorum gratia cum multis aliis variarum regionum principibus venerat, homicidio perpetrato trepidus urbem relinquere coactus est. Nec sic quidem tutus. Nam alii principes, qui cedem nobilis viri cupiebant vindicare, cum ingenti armatorum manu fugientem usque in Hollandiam sunt insequuti. Dordraci, quam urbem per prodicionem occupaverant, cruento certamine dimicatum, occisis una nocte quadringentis nobilibus. Defunctus ea pugna, Theodricus mane post solis ortum animo satis ocioso deambulaturus, telo in femore ictus ab hostibus, qui nocte superiore effugerant<sup>66</sup>, biduo tantum supervixit. Haecmunde sepultus anno mxlviii.

Dirk IV: After the death of his father, Dirk IV was count of Holland. At Liege, where he had gone together with many other noblemen from several countries for the sake of the tournaments, after he killed a man there he was forced to leave the city in a state of nervousness. But he was not safe even then. For with a large armed force the other princes, who wanted to avenge the murder of the nobleman, followed the fugitive right into Holland. At Dordrecht they seized the city by treachery and a bloody battle was fought, when in a single night four hundred nobles were killed. When Dirk had finished the battle, early in the morning just after sunrise

<sup>63</sup> See also De Graaf, *Oorlog om Holland*, pp. 96-103.

<sup>64</sup> De Graaf, *Oorlog om Holland*, pp. 73 and 97.

<sup>65</sup> Dirk III reigned as count of Holland from 993-1039. He was succeeded by his two sons, first Dirk IV and then the younger son Florence I; articles on Dirk I to Dirk VI incl. in *NNBW*, I, 718-720; Jansen, *Kalendarium*, p. 35.

<sup>66</sup> Text: 'affugerant'.



he was about to take a walk, quite at his ease, when he was struck in the thigh by a missile from his enemies who the previous night had fled, and he survived only two days more. He was buried at Egmond, anno 1048.<sup>67</sup>

*De Florentio comite:* Cum Theodricus sine prole decessisset, frater eius Florentius ex Phrisia in Hollandiam accersitus rei publice gubernacula suscepit. Huius successibus externi principes aliquot, archiepiscopus Coloniensis, antistes Leodinus et Lambertus comes Lovaniensis, invidentes contraxerunt exercitum, quo novum comitem principatu deturbarent. Quod ubi ad Florentium permanasset, statim ex consilio senis cuiusdam qua hostem venturum credebatur factas clam noctu ingentes foveas, ut, quo intendebatur dolus, procederet, feno et stramine operuit; in quas egressi hostes cum incidissent, accurrit sine mora Florentius qui magna prius edita cede multos abduxit captivos, inter quos erat comes Lovaniensis, quem postea grandi pecunia redemptum dimisit incolumem. Haec victoria comitis tantum abfuit ut archiepiscopum Coloniensem deterruerit ut non multis inde annis interiectis cum universo exercitu in Hollandiam redierit, cui effuse vastanti occurrit cum non penitenda suorum manu Florentius levique pugna hostem fundit. Multi in eo proelio cecidere; reliqui capti qui etate aut alia re impediti fugere non potuerunt. Fuit annus ille quo Florentius eam victoriam adeptus est humane salutis secundus et sexagesimus supra millesimum. Habent annales hunc eundem principem non multo post superatum archiepiscopum sub arbore quadam, currendo an pugnando dubium est, defessum sedisse ibique interemptum ab his qui superiore proelio salutem fuga quesierant. Praefuit vero Hollandie annis xiiii.

Count Florence [I]: When Dirk [IV] had died without offspring, his brother Florence who was summoned to Holland from Friesland undertook the government of the state. His successes aroused the envy of several foreign princes, the archbishop of Cologne, the bishop of Liege and Lambert, count of Louvain. They assembled an army with which they might deprive the new count of his sovereignty. When Florence received this news he at once took advice from a certain old man about which route the enemy was believed about to take. Then secretly in the night he dug very large ditches which were intended as a trap, and covered them with hay and straw. The enemy, when they arrived, fell into them. Florence hurried there without delay. When he had first carried out great

<sup>67</sup> 'geschoten door zijn dye', Aurelius, *Divisiechroniek*, Delft 1591, p. 70; Roefs, *De Egmondsche Abtenchroniek*, p. 127; Jansen, *Kalendarium*, p. 35, gives anno 1049. The date of Easter in 1049 was 26 March, and the date of Dirk IV's death was 13 January, which by the reckoning of the time was 1048. See also De Graaf, *Oorlog om Holland*, p. 104. Dirk IV's skeleton has not been found at Egmond; Dijkstra, *Stamboom in been*, pp. 99, 107, 137.

slaughter he led away many captives, among whom was the count of Louvain. Afterwards Florence sent the count back again unharmed after a large ransom had been paid for him. This victory of count Florence was not enough to deter the archbishop of Cologne from returning to Holland not many years later with a whole army. Florence, and his army which welcomed the chance, hastened to meet the archbishop who was plundering far and wide, and they vanquished him in an easy battle. Many were killed in that battle. The others were captured, who because of age or from some other cause were hindered and unable to flee. Florence won that victory in the year of salvation one thousand and sixty two. The annals relate how this same prince, not long after he had overcome the archbishop, was sitting tired under a tree. It is not known whether he had been running or fighting. He was killed there by those who in the previous battle had sought their safety in flight. He governed Holland for fourteen years.<sup>68</sup>

*De Ada.* Ada superioris Theodrici filia mortuo patre nupsit illustri viro Lodovico comiti Loonensi cui cum tantum coniugium a finitimis quibusdam principibus invideretur, magni bellorum motus in Hollandia orti vix tandem post multam cedem resederunt.

Ada: When Ada, daughter of the above Dirk [VII]<sup>69</sup>, her father having died, married the nobleman Louis, count of Loon, such a great marriage was envied by some neighbouring leading men, and great warlike seditions which arose in Holland only subsided at last after much slaughter.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>68</sup> 'Ende door raet ende ingeven eens ouden Edellen... graven ende putten... delven', Aurelius, *Divisiekronek*, Delft 1591, fol. 71-71v. The tree under which Florence sat was a willow, and the year 1061; 'dormiens... sub umbra salicis...', Roefs, *De Egmondsche Abtenkronek*, p. 128; 'fessus ex itinere sub umbra arboris saligne...', Oppermann, *Annales Egmundenses*, p. 29; 'heeft hi hem terneder gestelt te leggen rusten des middages onder enen willigen boom...', Aurelius, *Divisiekronek*, Antwerp 1530, p. 114. Accepted dates for Florence I's government are 1049 to 1061, thirteen years if counted inclusively. The discrepancy is caused by the practice of dating years from Easter. Dirk IV was killed on 13 Jan. 1049, which was 1048 by the reckoning of the times. Forensic evidence for the violent deaths of Arnulph, Florence I, Florence IV, Florence V and William II is given by Dijkstra, *Stamboom in been*, passim. For Florence I see Dijkstra, *Stamboom in been*, pp. 112-113.

<sup>69</sup> There is no text accompanying the woodcut of Dirk VII in the Nijhoff copy at the University of Leiden. But from this remark it is clear that it was intended that there should be one.

<sup>70</sup> *NNBW*, I, 10; Cordfunke, *Gravinnen van Holland*, p. 71; Jansen, *Geschiedenis Middeleeuwen*, pp. 295-296; Jansen, *Kalendarium*, p. 44; Smit, *Vorst en Onderdaan*, pp. 93-94; De Graaf, *Oorlog om Holland*, pp. 312-321.

*De Guilielmo Theodrici septimi fratre:* Ade neptis gubernationem Guilielmus orientalis Phrisie comes excepit. Ab hoc inimicorum arces aliquot everse, incensum a Traiectensibus Dordracum huius principatu. Causam vastationis eius non invenio. Pax tandem inter Hollandos et populum Traiectensem ita convenerat, ut comes Guilielmus, qui prius multo maiore incommodo Traiectenses affecerat, mille talentum anti-stiti persolveret. Hic Molgtolmi<sup>71</sup> avunculi sui, Schotorum regis, audita morte, per quam regnum lege ad se rediisse putabat, classem contraxit, qua Schotiam ingressus multa opida expugnavit. Sed cum a Ludovico Loonensi comite Hollandiam ferro et igni vastari accepisset, ne certum et iam acquisitum comitatum pro incerto regno amitteret, domum victrices naves reduxit, et in Ludovicum Hollandie agros licentiosius palantem fecit impetum fusumque cum multa cede exegit. Obiit mortem anno inite apud Hollandos gubernationis nono et decimo<sup>72</sup>, in Phrisia orientali sexto et vigesimo.

William [I], the brother of Dirk VII: William, count of East Friesland, took over the government from his niece Ada. He destroyed several of the enemy's fortresses, and Dordrecht in his own county was burnt by the people of Utrecht. I did not discover the motive for that destruction.<sup>73</sup> Peace was agreed at last between the Hollanders and the people of Utrecht, such that count William who had afflicted them at first with much greater misfortune paid one thousand talents of silver to the bishop. When William heard of the death of his uncle Malcolm [IV], king of Scots, whereby he thought that the kingdom rightfully reverted to him, he assembled a fleet with which, when he entered Scotland, he destroyed many fortresses. But when he received news that count Louis of Loon was ravaging Holland by fire and sword, lest he [William] might lose a certain and already won county for an uncertain kingdom, he led his victorious ships back home. He attacked Louis who was maurauding without hinder through the regions of Holland, and he vanquished him with much slaughter. He died in the nineteenth year of his rule in Holland and the twenty-sixth in Friesland.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>71</sup> Scriverius corrected Barlandus' spelling of Malcolm's name; 'Molgtolmi (Malcolmi potius)...', Scriverius, *Principes Hollandiae*, p. 53. 'Schotorum'; here with one 't'. For a short discourse on the spelling of Malcolm IV's name and royal title see Bruce Webster, *The Sources of History: Studies in the Uses of Historical Evidence. Scotland from the Eleventh Century to 1603* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell Univ. Press, 1975), pp. 67-69.

<sup>72</sup> 'Undevigesimo' in Scriverius' edition where a number of other barbarisms have been corrected; Scriverius, *Principes Hollandiae*, p. 53.

<sup>73</sup> The use here of the first person ('non invenio') need not refer to Barlandus, because Aurelius in the *Divisiechroniek* also used the first person ('ik') whenever he wished.

<sup>74</sup> Articles on William I to William VI of Holland in *NNBW*, X, 1210-1214. Dates given for William I's government in Holland are 1203 to 1222; see also De Graaf, *Oorlog*

*De Florentio quarto*: Filius eius Florentius huius nominis quartus fit inde comes, peritia dimicandi nulli superiorum principum secundus. Magnitudine rerum gestarum huius viri accensa, Claremontensis comitis uxor maritum precibus fatigavit ut ludos militares ex industria pararet, rata, futurum ut Florentius studio dimicandi cum suis accederet. Constituitur certamini dies, ad quem diem, cum Florentius, cuius unius gratia factus erat ille apparatus, venisset, leta mulier conscendit partem domus superiorem, ut ex editiore fenestra dimicantem Hollandie comitem prospectaret. Cuius virtutem ipsa, cum subinde laudibus ferret, suspicans maritus<sup>75</sup> adductum sibi ante oculos thori insidiatorem, contractis clam armatis in locum certaminis descendit, omnisque rei ignarum Florentium obtruncat.

Florence IV: His son Florence, the fourth of that name, became count from that time. He was second to none of the previous princes in his skill at fighting. The wife of the count of Claremont became aroused by the greatness of his deeds, and so she wore her husband down on purpose with requests to organize a tournament, thinking the result would be that Florence because of his keenness to fight would come with his supporters. A day was fixed for the contest, and on that day when Florence came, for whose sake alone that splendour had been organized, the joyful woman went up to the higher part of the residence so that from an upper floor window she might view the count of Holland in combat. When she then spoke repeatedly in his praise, her suspecting husband, when the betrayer of his marriage bed was paraded before his eyes, went down to the place of the tournament after armed men had been secretly assembled, and he slew Florence who was unaware of everything.<sup>76</sup>

*om Holland*, pp. 313-321. The 'thousand talents' story is in Oppermann (ed.), *Annales Egmondenses*, p. 103. In Scriverius' edition of Barlandus a comment has been added that 1000 talents was equivalent to 600.000 gold guilders. William I and the 'Scotland story' are in Aurelius, *Divisiechroniek*, Antwerp 1530, fol. 156 and 156v. For the participation of William I of Holland on a crusade to Spain and the Holy Land (the 'Damietta' story) in 1217 see Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain* (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), pp. 78-80, with notes and references to sources pp. 244-245; Reinhold Röhrich (ed.), *Quinti Belli Sacri Scriptores Minores* (Geneva: Fick, 1879), pp. xii, xiv, 29, 37, 59 and 60.

<sup>75</sup> Text: '*suspirans maritus*' ('the sighing husband'). In Scriverius: '*suspicans maritus*' ('the suspecting husband'), *Principes Hollandiae*, p. 57. Both seem possible.

<sup>76</sup> Florence IV reigned from 1222 to 1234. On the tournament: 'Die graefinne van Cleermont dye inden venster lach... of hi [her husband] hoer desen grave van Hollant wisen woude...'; she wanted her husband to introduce Floris to her or to point him out; Aurelius, *Divisiechroniek*, Antwerp 1530, fol. 162v-163; De Graaf, *Oorlog om Holland*, pp. 61-62; 'Floris II' there is an error.

*De Guilielmo secundo:* Occiso Florentio, Guilielmus filius eius nondum maturus administrationi erat, sex tantum annos natus. Tamen ei comitatus Hollandie ad puberem etatem incolumis mansit tutela patruī Ottonis Traiectensium antistitis. Hic Guilielmus armorum quam auri multo studiosior. Imberbis adhuc et vix dum annos viginti natus, Romanorum rex eligitur. Cui inde Leodium per antistitem loci consanguineum suum producto, universus clerus extra urbem officii causa obviam processit. Eodem fere tempore apud Trevirensium archiepiscopum pluribus diebus commoratus, rediit postea in Hollandiam. Instituit non longe ab oppido Delfensi concilium, ad quod Hollandi Zelandique suas causas deferrent. Locus dicitur Haga comitis. Interea certior factus Phrisiorum rebellione turbari Hollandie otia, ingenti armorum manu reversus, cum hoste bis confligit, semel primo adventu, estque tunc regis viribus Phrisiorum miles subactus; item paulo post quinto calendas Februarias, cum omnia diuturnum gelu pervia fecisset, Phrisiam iterum ingressus ante initum prelium occiditur novem et viginti annis in publica administratione impletis.

William II: When Florence [IV] was killed his son William was not yet ripe for the administration. Although he was only six years old the county of Holland remained safe for him, until he was more mature, in the guardianship of his uncle Otto, bishop of Utrecht. This William was much more devoted to the study of weapons than to wealth. Still beardless and while scarcely twenty years old he was elected King of the Romans. When he was conveyed to Liege by his blood relative the bishop of that place, the whole of the clergy came out of the city in procession to pay him honour. At about the same time he stayed several days with the archbishop of Trier and then afterwards he returned to Holland. He arranged for an assembly not far from Delft at which Hollanders and Zeelanders could report their affairs. The place is called The Hague.<sup>77</sup> Meanwhile, when he was informed that the peace of Holland was being disturbed by a rebellion of the Frisians he returned with a large force of soldiers and fought them twice; once immediately on his arrival, and here the Frisian army was beaten by the royal forces. Likewise, shortly afterwards on 28 January [1256] when the daily frost had made all the ways passable

<sup>77</sup> This may be a reference to efforts which William II made to free himself from his feudal lord, the count of Flanders in matters pertaining to Zeeland. The period may have been about 1253 when on 4 July William II's brother won a battle for him at West-Kapelle; cf. M. de Waha – J. Dugnoille, 'De Avesnes en Holland vóór 1299' in Dick E. H. De Boer et al. (eds), *1299: Een Graaf, Drie Graafschappen. De vereniging van Holland, Zeeland en Henegouwen* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2000), pp. 23-35; especially pp. 26-28; Jansen, *Kalendarium*, p. 45.

he entered Friesland again and was killed before the beginning of the battle, having completed twenty-nine years in administering the state.<sup>78</sup>

*De Guilielmo quarto:* Guilielmus accepto a patre comitatu statim cum delecta armatorum manu in Hispaniam transgressus, ut regem assidua cum Turcis Saracenisque bella gerentem auxiliis adiuuaret, pugnando obiectandoque se periculis in tantam brevi claritudinem evasit, ut Hispanis eque ac militi suo gratissimus esset. Postea reversus in Hollandiam ut commodius Phrisiam subigeret, Traiectum oppugnare adortus nobilium, quos apud se habebat, rogatu, civibus has breves et duntaxat paucorum mensium pacis redimende conditiones dedit, ut nudatis plantis adapertisque capitibus egressi quingenti ad comitis pedes humiliter prostrati veniam poscerent. Quod cum ita factum esset, movit inde in Phrisios comes, ubi, dum nimia fines imperii propagandi cupiditate fortius dimicat, occiditur.

William IV: William when he had received the sovereignty from his father went to Spain with a chosen band of soldiers in order to help the king who was fighting constantly with the Turks and Saracens. By fighting and exposing himself to danger he rose in a short time to such renown that he was equally pleasing to the Spaniards and to his own men. Afterwards, when he returned to Holland, in order more easily to restrain the Frisians, he attacked Utrecht at the request of the nobles whom he had with him. To the citizens he offered these short conditions, granted only for a peace of a few months: that five hundred of them should come out, lay themselves at the count's feet and humbly beg for pardon. When that had been done, the count marched from there against the Frisians where he fought strongly because of his exaggerated desire to extend the limits of his command, and he was killed.<sup>79</sup>

<sup>78</sup> For William II's accession while still 'een kint van zes iaren': Aurelius, *Divisiechroniek*, Delft 1591, fol. 96. William II reigned in Holland from 1234 to 1256. He was elected King of the Romans in 1247 and crowned at Aachen in 1258. The date of his death is given here as 28 Jan. ('quinto [ante] calendas Februarias') in agreement with the Egmond chronicle; Roefs (ed.), *De Egmondsche Abtenchroniek*, p. 164. For details of the final battle see De Graaf, *Oorlog om Holland*, pp. 229-235, and for the examination of William II's remains found at Middelburg, Dijkstra, *Stamboom in been*, pp. 131-134.

<sup>79</sup> William IV was count of Holland from 1337 to 1345; *NNBW*, X, 1213. That he fought at Granada in Spain in 1338 is in Aurelius, *Divisiechroniek*, Delft 1591, fol. 119v. William IV went to Prussia on the so-called 'winter journey' crusading against the Lithuanians in 1336-7, 1343-4 and 1344-5; Werner Paravicini, *Die Preussenreisen des europäischen Adels* (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1989), I, 56-57, with references to documentary sources; Norman Housley, *The later crusades, 1274-1580: From Lyons to Alcazar* (Oxford: OUP, 1992), pp. 342 and 347. William IV also went to the Holy Land in 1343-44 (*NNBW*). He besieged Utrecht in June and July 1345, and he was killed in Friesland in

*De Margareta:* Postquam in humanis esse desiisset Guilielmus, neque proles, que patri mortuo succederet, superesset, devolutus est comitatus ad sororem eius Margaretam, Lodovici Romanorum imperatoris coniugem, que exquisitissimo apparatu in Hollandiam descendens, filio suo Guilielmo hac conditione tradit eam gubernandam ut quotannis ille matri certam pecunie quantitatem dependeret. Quae Phrisii per id tempus habebant bona in Hollandia, ut fratris Guilielmi cedem ulcisceretur, Margareta publice vendidit. Traiectensibus aliquot mensium inducie date; his rebus transactis rediit in Bavariam Ludovici coniunx. Nec interea Traiectenses quieverunt, exacto induciarum tempore praeter omnium expectationem cum exercitu Hollandiam ingressi. Sed hunc tumultum statim compresserunt nove belli ferie. Post hec reverse ex Bavaria matri Margarete Guilielmus comitatum restituit, quam rerum mutationem excepit bellum quod cum Traiectensibus Hollandi ut coetera pleraque foeliciter admodum gessere.

Margaret: When William died without leaving offspring to succeed him, the sovereignty passed to his sister, the wife of Louis, the Holy Roman Emperor. She came to Holland with a most splendid retinue [1346], and transferred the government of Holland to her son William [1349] on condition that he should pay his mother a certain sum of money annually. In order to avenge her brother William's violent death, Margaret sold by public auction the possessions of Frisians who at that time had goods in Holland. After a truce of several months had been given to the people of Utrecht, Louis' wife returned to Bavaria when those affairs had been completed. Meanwhile, however, the people of Utrecht were not quiescent when the truce expired, because unexpected by everyone they entered Holland with an army. But new truces suppressed this uprising at once. After this Margaret came back from Bavaria, and William returned control to her [in March 1350]. War with the people of Utrecht followed on this change in the situation, which the Hollanders as on numerous other occasions waged very successfully.<sup>80</sup>

Sept. 1345; De Graaf, *Oorlog om Holland*, pp. 116, 126, 283, 295-297; Smit, *Vorst en Onderdaan*, pp. 112-113.

<sup>80</sup> 'heeft doen confisqueeren ende toeslaen alle de goeden, landen ende renten der Vriesen', Aurelius, *Divisiechroniek*, Delft 1591, fol. 123; *NNBW*, I, 1299. Margaret's reign lasted from 1345 till 1354. The quarrels between her and her son William were important for the political future of Holland. His supporters assumed the name 'Codfish' ('*Kabeljauwen*'), perhaps from the fish-like design of white and blue fields in his coat-of-arms, and her supporters, to complete the imagery, took the name 'Hooks' ('*Hoeken*'); see William's coat-of-arms in Illustrations 3 and 4. In succeeding generations these parties, with the city elites generally supporting the 'Codfish' and the nobility supporting the

*De Guilielmo quinto:* Guilielmus, defuncta matre, inivit Hollandie administrationem. Hic principes<sup>81</sup> Traiectensium agros ingressus, omnia circa urbem hostiliter populari adortus, qua re irritatus antistes cum ingenti exercitu veniens non multo post in Hollandiam opida duo vi capta incendit; Guilielmi huius principatu urbis Harlemensis bona pars deflagravit. Sed nec hoc quidem satis constat, unde tam ingens sit conflatum incendium. Incidit Guilielmus cum annis septem prefuisset in frenesim, quo morbo implicitus, cum hominem etiam sua manu interfecisset, vinctus in custodiam datur.

William V: William, after the death of his mother [23 June 1356] entered into the government of Holland. He invaded the most important territories of Utrecht and aggressively attacked and ruined everything around the city. Because of this the bishop was aroused, and coming into Holland with a very large army not long afterwards he set fire to two towns in Holland which he had taken by force.<sup>82</sup> A good part of the city of Haarlem burnt down during William's government. But not even this, however, is clear enough to explain how such a huge conflagration arose. When William had governed for seven years he became mad, and confused by his sickness, when he had killed a man with his own hands, he was restrained and kept in captivity.<sup>83</sup>

*De Adelberto:* Resuscitata deinde contentio, iis ut frenetici comitis uxor, aliis ut Guilielmi ex utroque parente frater Adelbertus succederet adnitentibus. Vicit, quod rarum est, melior pars maiorem, et missi qui evestigio Adelbertum, qui tunc aberat in Bavaria, adirent, rogarentque ut, quando frater mentis compos esse desiisset, ipse descenderet administraturus rem publicam. Audita legatione, Adelbertus in Hollandiam transgressus a suis officiosissime excipitur. Qui postea a Delfensibus illatam sue maiestati iniuriam vindicaturus, cum aliquamdiu eorum urbem infestis armis circumsedisset, ibi rogatus, ut, priusquam scalas muro admoveret, obsessorum animos tentaret, qua erat clementia, respondit se nihil facturum hostile si abiectis armis supplices

'Hooks', dominated regional politics until well into the sixteenth century; Jansen, *Kalendarium*, p. 54; Jansen, *Geschiedenis Middeleeuwen*, pp. 399 and 466-7; Smit, *Vorst en Onderdaan*, pp. 114-122; H. M. Brokken, *Het ontstaan van de Hoekse en Kabeljauwse twisten* (Zutphen: Walburg Press, 1982); De Graaf, *Oorlog om Holland*, pp. 322-353.

<sup>81</sup> Scriverius, *Principes Hollandiae*, p. 85: 'Hic princeps... ingressus...' ('This prince invaded...').

<sup>82</sup> The towns were Weesp and Muiden on the Zuyderzee; De Graaf, *Oorlog om Holland*, pp. 137-139; Scriverius, *Principes Hollandiae*, marginal note on p. 85.

<sup>83</sup> Dates given for William V as count of Holland are 1349 until 1358 resp. 1389 in which year he died. His madness dated from 1357, and in effect he was succeeded by Albert (Adelbert) in 1358; Smit, *Vorst en Onderdaan*, pp. 127-130.



veniam peterent. Quo facto, edicit continuo suis Adelbertus ut supplicibus parcerent; urbis tamen muri nihilo secius diruti sunt, ne deinceps unquam rebellarent. Egressus inde comes in Gheldriam lacessitus, prede et populationis omnia complevit.

Adelbert: When the dispute [about the succession] was revived, some people were pressing for the wife of the demented count to succeed him, and others for Adelbert, William's full brother. Then something rare happened; the better party won from the larger. People were sent to track down Adelbert who was in Bavaria, and to ask him to accept the government because his brother [William V] had ceased to be rational. When he had heard the embassy, Adelbert crossed into Holland and was received most ceremoniously by his supporters. Afterwards, when he was about to avenge an insult done to his dignity by the people of Delft he besieged their city for a considerable time with an attacking army.<sup>84</sup> He was entreated there to test the minds of the besieged citizens before moving ladders to the wall, and with the clemency that was his own he replied that he would do nothing inimical if they threw down their arms and as suppliants begged for pardon. When this had been done he ordered his people immediately to spare the suppliants. Nonetheless, however, the walls of the city were broken down lest they should rebel another time. When the count after he was provoked marched from there into Gelderland he plundered and destroyed everything.

*De Guilielmo sexto:* Patri Adelberto Guilielmus filius substituitur, qui Gheldriam semel et iterum tumultuose ingressus fede eam populatus est, sed mutatis rebus tantus hic fuit postea Reinaldi Ghelrie ducis amicus quantus antea fuerat hostis. Biennio post Phrisones Hollandie agrum ut sepe alias hostiliter invaserunt, cuius ultionem iniurie Guilielmus maioribus curis tunc occupatus in aliud tempus distulit. Hic idem concilio indicto, ad quod multi Hollandie principes sunt profecti, egit in eo de surroganda sibi post mortem unica filia. Quod cum omnibus placuisset, statim confecte sunt super ea re publice littere. Eodem anno comes in morbum incidit quo in dies magis invalescente accersiri iubet sacerdotem; cui cum de contractis tota vita noxiis christiano ritu confessus esset medio dolore consumptus est, anno sue gubernationis tertio decimo.

<sup>84</sup> *NNBW*, V, 25. The inauguration of Albert (Adelbert) was disputed at Delft, and the siege of Delft described here lasted several months; Aurelius, *Divisiekronek*, Antwerp 1530, fol. 222v; Delft 1591, fol. 131v; De Graaf, *Oorlog om Holland*, pp. 327-331. See Smit, *Vorst en Onderdaan*, p. 132, n. 223, where there is a line from a chronicle by an anonymous writer, 'Die van Delf, die zeider tieghen'.

William VI: Adelbert's son William succeeded him. He invaded Gelderland again and again violently, and shamefully laid it waste. But things changed, and afterwards he became as much the friend of Reinald, duke of Gelderland, as he had been his enemy before. Two years later the Frisians aggressively invaded the territory of Holland as so often at other times, but William, who was preoccupied by other worries at that moment, put off avenging the insult to another day. He convened an assembly to which many of the leading men of Holland came, and there he negotiated that his only daughter should succeed him after his death. When this proved agreeable to everyone, letters of state about the agreement were immediately drawn up [15 August 1416]. That same year the count fell ill, and daily growing weaker he ordered a priest to be summoned, to whom, following the Christian rite, he confessed the sins he had committed throughout his lifetime. Then consumed by pain he died in the thirteenth year of his reign [31 May 1417].<sup>85</sup>

*De Jacoba*: Iacoba post obitum patris gubernationi admota, cum audisset Ghoricum opidum Hollandie a Guilielmo Arkelensi occupatum esse, iussit confestim eo occurrere Walravum Brederodum<sup>86</sup> principem cum expedita armatorum manu ut repentino suorum adventu comprimeretur ille tumultus. Est paulo post intra muros atrociter dimicatum, cesis utrimque ducibus. Hic brevi post cum esset et Brabantie dux delectatus, credo urbis Lovanii amenitate, condidit inibi gymnasium in quo liberales artes publice docerentur; ceterum haec tam insignis Academia (qua nescio an hodie ulla atque adeo ulla simili spatio frequentior et ut nihil addam eruditior, atque id quidem in una qualibet (ut vocant) facultate reperiatur) successu temporis multum<sup>87</sup> crevit, crescitque subinde supra quam credi possit. Multi hic legum, multi medice rei, plures sacrosancte Theologie studiis gnaviter incumbunt. Eloquentia boneque littere plurimis cure sunt, quibus id persuasum, altiores disciplinas citra eloquentiam bonasque litteras foeliciter adiri exacteque disci posse minime. Jacoba cum nullam haberet prolem Phillipo Burgundie duci matertere sue filio comitatum Hollandie per manus tradidit.

<sup>85</sup> 'dat hy zijne biechte dede', Aurelius, *Divisiechroniek*, Delft 1591, fol. 149v. William VI, count of Holland 1404-1417; Jansen, *Kalendarium*, pp. 53, 59; Jansen, *Geschiedenis Middeleeuwen*, pp. 476, 478, 479. With respect to the description of William VI confessing his sins, note also Smit's remark (in another connection) about 'a religious component' in William's life and conduct; Smit, *Vorst en Onderdaan*, pp. 145-151 (p. 147). August 15 is the feast day of The Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, an auspicious day, therefore, for the signing.

<sup>86</sup> Text: '*Brerodorum*'. The family Brederode claimed to be descended from count Arnulph of Holland, the founder of the dynasty.

<sup>87</sup> Text: '*mutlum*'.

Jacoba: Jacoba assumed the government on the death of her father. When she heard that Gorinchem, a stronghold in Holland, had been seized by William of Arkel she immediately ordered the nobleman Walraf of Brederode to go there with a readily armed force in order to suppress the uprising at once on his arrival. A little afterwards there was fierce fighting within the walls, and both the leaders were killed [Dec. 1417].<sup>88</sup> Shortly after when the duke of Brabant too was delighted, I think, by the pleasantness of Louvain, he founded a school of learning in that city, where the liberal arts were taught for the public good. Furthermore, this so distinguished Academy (and up to this moment I do not know of any similar institution whatsoever more busily attended and, not to say more than that, surely in any (as they call it) faculty you may like)<sup>89</sup> grew large in the course of time and still continues to grow more than could be believed possible. Many men devote themselves here actively to the study of law and medicine, and more of them to the study of sacred theology. Eloquence and literature are the concern of many others who are convinced that higher disciplines beyond eloquence and literature can no less be approached successfully and learned precisely. Jacoba, because she had no offspring, transferred authority of Holland to Philip of Burgundy, her maternal cousin.<sup>90</sup>

*De Philippo comite:* Philippus, accepto a nepte comitatu Hollandie, cum esset ob quasdam res infenso in regem Anglorum animo Calisiam in Flandrorum finibus sitam urbem tanta armatorum manu obsedisce dicitur, ut soli aurige qui bellica instrumenta aliaque ad miliciam necessaria eo advexerant sufficere potuerint ad urbem expugnandam. Philippus postea in Haga comitis primus Aurei Velleris habuit comitia. Filium suum, cui Davidi nomen, manibus ac pedibus reluctantibus gementibusque atque invitis Traiectensibus, etsi universo Hollandie milite multum maxime tamen exercitatissimis Amstelredamorum copiis non instrenue adiutus, antistitem urbis fecit. Hoc etiam adnitante Lodovicus Delphinus Gallie principatum est adeptus. Et Philippus cum per hec aliaque virtutis opera quatuor et triginta annos comes Hollandie fuisset, Brugis morbo gravi affectus vita decessit.

<sup>88</sup> See article 'Walraven van Brederode' in *NNBW*, X, 136.

<sup>89</sup> A bracket of parenthesis is missing, and so one has been added here.

<sup>90</sup> Jacoba and Philip the Good were full cousins, grandchildren of Philip the Bold, duke of Burgundy; *NNBW*, VI, 841; Smit, *Vorst en Onderdaan*, p. 174; Jansen, *Kalendarium*, pp. 55, 59, 60; *Geschiedenis Middeleeuwen*, pp. 479-480. Elsewhere, Jacoba of Bavaria is called Jacqueline of Holland. Her second husband John (Jan) IV was installed as duke of Brabant in 1425.

Count Philip: Philip, when he received the county of Holland from his cousin, was hostile towards the king of England for some reason. It is said that he besieged Calais [1436], a city situated in the territory of Flanders, with such a large force that the wagon drivers alone who transported weapons and supplies to the military there would have been enough to conquer the city.<sup>91</sup> Philip afterwards was the first count to convene the Order of the Golden Fleece at The Hague. He made his son, whose name was David, bishop of Utrecht where the people resisted with tooth and nail, moaning and unwilling.<sup>92</sup> However, he was helped greatly in this by the whole of the military of Holland, and especially by the exertions of the very well trained forces of Amsterdam. Louis, the crown prince [of France], acquired sovereignty of France due to his [Philip's] help.<sup>93</sup> When Philip on account of these and other deeds of valour had reigned for thirty-four years as count of Holland he died of a serious illness at Bruges.<sup>94</sup>

*De Carolo Philippini filio:* Huic successit filius Carolus Martinus, sic dictus quod pridie Martini in Hyeme natus fuerit, rerum gestarum magnitudine patre superior, et ut ille consilio prudentior ita hic animo magnificentior. Cum esset Hollandie comitatus inauguratus non magno post tempore ingenti conflato exercitu in Leodinatorum agrum profectus ob coniectum in vincula Ludovicum Borbonium antistitem pernecesarium suum, eorum urbem acri bello expugnavit, expugnatam diripuit direptamque evertit.

Charles, son of Philip: Philip was followed by his son Charles Martin. He was called this because he was born [10 Nov. 1433] the day before St Martin in the Winter. He was greater than his father in the magnitude of the deeds he performed, and just as Philip's plans were more prudent so

<sup>91</sup> 'dat alleene die waghenaers...', Aurelius, *Divisiekronek*, Delft 1591, fol. 169v. In 1435 Philip the Good of Burgundy revoked his treaty of alliance with the English king Henry VI after king Charles VII of France atoned by the treaty of Arras/Atrecht for the murder of Philip's father, John the Fearless. The English retaliated with a trade embargo, and hence Philip's (abortive) attack on Calais in 1436. For another description of the siege of Calais by Barlandus see Verweij's translation in Bijsterveld et al. (eds.), *Kroniek van de hertogen van Brabant*, p. 143. See also Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Good: The Apogee of Burgundy* (London: Longman, 1970), pp. 75-82. For the Knights of the Golden Fleece 'inden Haghe vergadert wesende': Aurelius, *Divisiekronek*, Delft 1591, fol. 177.

<sup>92</sup> Verweij, *Kroniek van de hertogen van Brabant*, pp. 147-148.

<sup>93</sup> Note the change of subject. The kings of France were Burgundy's feudal overlords. In 1456, fleeing from his father Charles VII of France, the Dauphin Louis sought refuge at the court of Philip of Burgundy. Later (1461) Philip attended his coronation as Louis XI at Reims; Verweij, *Kroniek van de hertogen van Brabant*, pp. 148-149; Jansen, *Kalendarium*, p. 61.

<sup>94</sup> *NNBW*, X, 721; Jansen, *Kalendarium*, pp. 60-63.

Charles' spirit was more magnificent. When he had been inaugurated as count of Holland, he assembled not much later a large army and marched into the territory of Liege because his close relative Louis of Bourbon, the bishop, had been imprisoned. Charles stormed their city in a bitter war, plundered and then destroyed it [1468].<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> *NNBW*, V, 266; Jansen, *Kalendarium*, pp. 63-64. Barlandus' circumspect treatment of Charles of Burgundy — here there is not a word about his several defeats and his death at the hands of the Swiss — in this short entry may have been conditioned by the knowledge that Emperor Maximilian was an ardent admirer of his father-in-law. This may be further evidence that Maximilian was still alive, or only very recently dead, when the 'Catalog' was printed. Barlandus wrote and published a fuller life of Charles the Bold; see translation by Verweij of the edition of 1526 in Bijsterveld et al. (eds.), *Kroniek van de hertogen van Brabant*, pp. 150-176; for the destruction of Liege, pp. 158-159. For a study of Charles the Bold see Richard Vaughan, *Charles the Bold: The last Valois Duke of Burgundy* (London: Longman, 1973); for the destruction of Liege, pp. 32-40.





De Ada.

Ada superior  
Theodoric filia  
moximo patre  
nuptis illustri  
viro Lodouico  
comiti Loonensi  
cui cum tantis co-  
lucium a finit-  
mis quibusda  
principibus in-  
uidere magni  
bellorum mori  
in Hollandia or-  
ti vir tade post  
miliam rede re-  
fcederunt.

De Guilielmo Theo-  
dici septimi fratre.

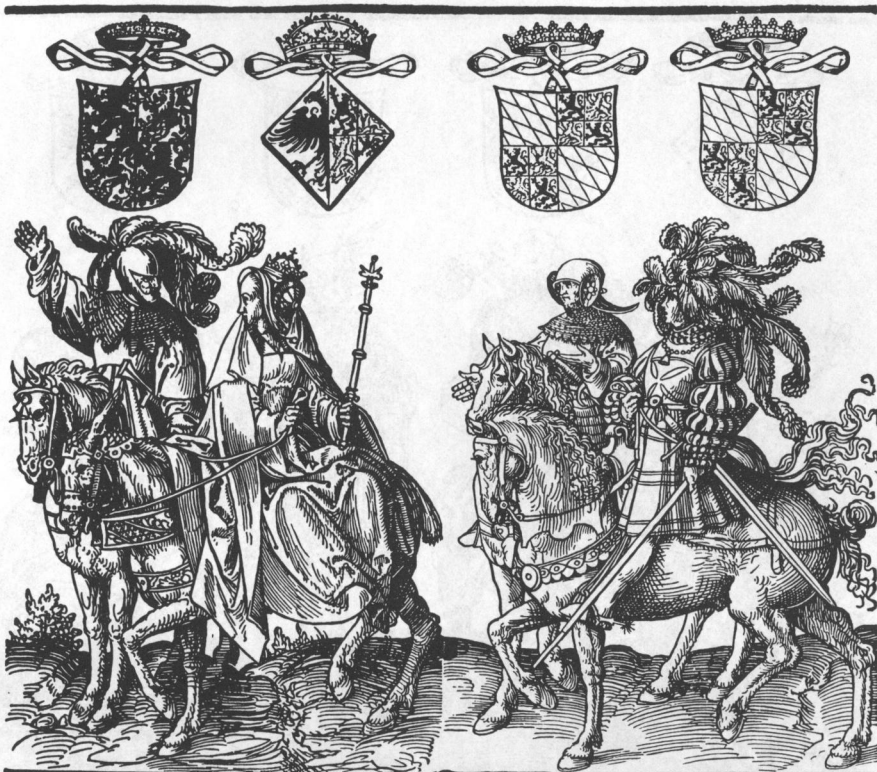
De nepotis gubernatione Guilielmi, osten-  
tatio Johannis comes ex cepit ab hoc iunctu  
arce alijs euerse incensum a Traiectensib?  
Dordiaci huius principatu. Causam vasa-  
tionis eius non inuenio. Par tandem inter Hol-  
landos et populum Traiectensem ita conueniat  
ut comes Guilielmus quatuor multo maiore  
incommodo Traiectenses afficeret, nulle talen-  
ti antistiti psetueret. Hic Polgrolini aum-  
tuli sui Schotop regis aucta mouit p qiam  
regni lege ad se redire putabat. Classem con-  
traque sua Schotia ingressus multa opida ex-  
pugnauit, sed cum a Ludouico Loonensi comite  
Hollandia ferro et igni vastari accepisset ne  
ecum et iam acquisiti comitatu pro incerto  
regno amitteret domum victores nauos re-  
dierit et in Ludouici Hollandie agros licentio  
suis palauere fecit ipse sum fustigat. Cum mul-  
ta rede exegit. Obijt mortem ante inire apud  
Hollandos gubernationis nono et decimo.  
In psetia octuaginta sexto et vigesimo.

De Florentio quarto.

Filius est Florentius huius nois  
quare? sic ide comes peritia di-  
micandi nulli superiorum pinci-  
piu frudu? Magnitudine reru  
gestay huius viri accensa Clare  
montensis comitis vrot mari-  
tini psetib? fatigauit ut ludos mi-  
licarum ex industria pararet. ra-  
ta futurum ut Florentius studio di-  
micandi cum suis accurreret. Et  
stinit certamini dies, ad que  
dis cum Florentius cuius unius  
gratia fact? erat ille apparat?  
venisset leta mulier? cōfcedit  
pset domi? superioris ut ex edicio  
re fenestra dimittant? Hollandie  
comitē pset claret cuius virtutem  
ipsa cum subinde laudib? fer-  
ret suspitao marinus adductus  
sibi ante oculos thori insidiato-  
rum cōtactus da armatis in lo-  
cum certaminis defcedit. cōfcedit  
et ignari Florentii obtruncat.

De Guilielmo secundo.

Occiso Florentio Guilielm? fili? ei? nōdoli ma-  
turus administracioni erat. sex tū annos na-  
tus. cum ei comitay? Hollandie ad pubertē erat  
incolumis mātē turela parui Ottonis Tra-  
iectensis antistitis hie Guilielmus armoy q?  
auri multo studiosior. Imbertio adhuc et vir  
duo annos viginat? romanotū rex eligitur  
cui inde troditi p antistitē loci cōfcedit  
sui productio uniuersus derus extra vobē offi-  
cij causa obuia pressit. Eodē fere tēpore apud  
Traiectum archiepiscopū pluribus dieb? cō-  
motus redijt postea in Hollandia. Insistit  
nō lōge ab oppido Defcedit cōfcedit ad qd? Hol-  
landi? ielandig? suas causas deferrent. Locis  
dicunt? Thaga comitis? Interrea certis facinus  
psetiorū rebellione turbata Hollandie oia  
ingenti armatorū manu reuerfus cum hoste bis  
cōfcedit se metipso aduēto. et huius regis vi-  
ribus psetiorū miles subactus. Iam paulo  
post quinto caldas febriarias cū oia dūctur  
nū gelu pua fridus psetiam iterum ingres-  
sus ante iraq? psetium occiditur. nouem et vi-  
ginti annis i publica administracione psetis

**De Gulielmo quarto.**

Gulielm<sup>us</sup> accepto a patre comitatu suu cui defuncta armatorum manu in Hispania transgressus, ut regē assidua cū Turcis Baracenis bella gereret auxilio adiunxerat pugnando obiectadoque periculis i tantū breui daridinē euasit ut Hispanie eque ac militi suo grandissimus esset. Postea reuersus in Hollandiā ut commodius hostiliā subiret Traiectū oppugnare aduersus nobiliū hō aq se habebat rogari. Cuius haebituro et diuinar paucos mēsi pacis redinēde cōditiones dedie ut ruidar plāto adagrisq capidib<sup>us</sup> egressi quingenti ad comitis pedes humiliter pstra ei uenū potuerunt. Sed cū uasculū ēt mouit inde in hostilios comere ubi dā nimia fures ipse ppagadi cupiditate fortius dimicant occidit.

**De Margareta.**

Postq in humanis esse desisset Gulielmus, neq proles que patri motuo succederet supellex diuolutus est comitatus ad fororē eius Margareta Tudorūci Romanorū imperatoris coniuge que erquisitissimo apparatu in Hollandiā descendēdo filio suo Gulielmo hac cōditione tradidit eā gubernādā ut quotannis ille matri terrā pecunie quāritatem deprecderet. q hostiliū p id tēp<sup>us</sup> habebat bona in Hollandiā ut fratri Gulielmi redē uiceret Margareta publicē uendit Traiectū; aliquot mēsiū indutie date his rebus trāactis reddi i Sauraria Tudorūci iun<sup>ior</sup> Per inuere Traiectensib<sup>us</sup> q uerit ex acto induciarū spe pter oīm expectationē cū exercitu Hollandiā igerit. Sed hunc cumultū statī compellerunt noui belli ferie post hec eruer se ex Sauraria matri Margarete Gulielmus comitatu rēstruit quā rerū mutacionē exerpit bellū qd cū T rale erantib<sup>us</sup> Hollandi ut rocer a plerag<sup>us</sup> foelicur ad modū gresserē.

**De Gulielmo. v.**

Gulielm<sup>us</sup> defuncta matre iuuit Hollandiē administracionē hic picipes Traiectū agroq gressus oia circa uerb<sup>us</sup> hostilitatū populari adort<sup>us</sup> quare irritat<sup>us</sup> amittes cū ingenti exercitu uenēdo nō multo post in Hollandiā opida duo ut capta iterū dū Gulielmi huius pri ripari uerb<sup>us</sup> Harlemensi bona paro deslagauit Sed nec hoc quidem satis cōstat unde tam ingens sit cōflantur incrementū Incidit Gulielm<sup>us</sup> cum annis septem p<sup>re</sup>fuisset in frenesim quo morbo iplicius cum hominē etiam sua manu interfecisset uincus in aurostodiam datur.

**De Adelberto.**

Aeschitara drinde cōuenit. hō ut frenotici comitis uxor. alijs ut Gulielmi ex utroq<sup>ue</sup> partē frater Adelbertus succederet adnitenb<sup>us</sup>. Dicit qd rariū est melior paro maiorē i milti q cunctig<sup>us</sup> Adelberti q ruit aberat in Sauraria adit<sup>us</sup> rogare ut quando frater mēris cōpos esse desisset ipse dī scriberet administraturus rē. p. Audia legatione Adelbertus i Hollandiā transgressus a suis officio mē exipitur Cui postea a Desfensibus illacū lue maie stati iniuriā uideaturus cū aliquādiu eorū uerbū infestis armis circūstiter ibi rogatus ut priusq<sup>ue</sup> scalas muro admoerret obsecrorū aios tēaret quare at clemētia respondit se nihil sacruū hostile si abieceris armis supplices ueniam peterent Quo facto ediat cōtinuo suis Adelbert<sup>us</sup> ut supplicibus parcerent uerbis tamen muri nihil scius diruti sunt ne deieq<sup>ue</sup> uing<sup>us</sup> rebellarent. Egressus inde comos in Adelbertiā lacrimis, prebet et populationis oia cōpleuit.





**De Guilielmo sexto.**

[illegible]

## De Jacoba.

Iacobus post obitū patrio gubernatū ad-  
 mōra rē audiuit et Horricū opōnō Hōllā-  
 dia a Gulielmo Hethelici occupatū eī ius  
 sit cōfēsi cō occurrere Volebat. Sierodo-  
 rē pīncipē cō expedita armatō manu  
 repertō hūq; aduēit. cōpūmēre ille nō  
 mīdus. Et paulo post intra muros arcei  
 cō dimicātū cōs urāq; dūbū. Sic dūcū  
 post rē eī esset Stabianū reg. dēclatō rē  
 dō obitō Quāq; amicitia rōdūit hūq;  
 gnālū in tōalibet alio arce publici dōrē  
 nō. Et cūm hac rē infūgīe Hādēgnā  
 (qua nescio an hōie villa arce aduō villa si  
 multo spacio fringitior; rē uribū addā cō-  
 dūit; atq; iū quēdā in una qualibet; ur  
 cō) saculū rē rēpīat hūq; spīo mūdū  
 rēuē. cōclatō hūq; fūq; qūā rē pōstē  
 Alūthū hūq; nūm dīcē rē. plures fa-  
 cō rē E hōlogū hūq; gnaui rē iēitū  
 cōlōquēna dōnq; rē plūmū nūq; sūm  
 qūq; iū pūfūlū alioq; dīsciplīna rēra cō-  
 quēmā dōnq; fīas fōclū adit cō rē  
 dīscī pōstē mīnūq; Iacobū rē nūllā habē-  
 rē pīlō hōpīlū cō iūrgūnū dīcāt mātē-  
 rē sūe hōpīlū cōmīatū hōl. pūmāq; rēadit.

## De Philippo comite.

Philippus accepto p[re]cepto h[er]e-  
comiani hollande illi c[um] equis  
damus re infensio in regem Kinglo-  
rum animo Calisiani in Flandris  
illi finibus sicuti ubi tantum a  
maris manu obsequit dicitur ut  
soli auriq[ue] bellica instrumenta  
aliaq[ue] ad militaria necessaria co-  
adjuverat sufficere potuerit ad  
belli expugnandum. Philippus  
postea in h[er]aga comitis primus  
auget bellicio habuit comitem. Fi-  
lium suum cum Dauidi nomen  
natis aq[ue] probat[ur] reuocand[um] genit-  
rib[us] anglicum re tractatib[us] et  
vinctio hollande milie mulis  
marie illi excedantur mulis et  
redomus copio non insensum  
aditui auulit[ur] visio fere. Hoc  
etiam admittere Tobolusur Del-  
phinus Calis principum c[um]  
obepno. Et philippus cum p[re]  
fere aliq[ue] virtutino op[er]a et quantu  
virginitate anno com hollande  
fuisse et iugio mox comi affu-

De Carolo Philip-  
phi filio.

Quis successit filius Caro  
lus Martini? sic dicimus quod  
publie Martini in hyme  
nans fuerit rerū gestarū  
magnitudo patre superi  
or et ut velle consilio pube  
rie ita hic antio magnificen  
cia. Cum efflorescit holiade  
comitatus i auguratus no  
magno post tempore inge  
ri consilio exercitus in leodi  
notum agrum profertur. ad  
confectum in vincula ludo  
nicum. Soboribus amili  
ticum per necessarium flum  
eorum urbem acri bello ep  
pugnauit. erpugnata dies  
pau. durpato. euerit.

**us vira deo fír.**

David AMHERDT

LITTÉRATURE CLASSIQUE ET HUMANISME CHRÉTIEN  
ENTRE EXALTATION ET CENSURE:  
L'APPROCHE DE LUIS VIVÈS

**1. Introduction: la tension entre paganisme et christianisme**

Dès les premiers temps du christianisme on s'est posé la question de l'attitude à adopter à l'égard des écrivains païens en général, et en particulier à l'égard des poètes. On voulait protéger la pureté de la foi, sans pour autant renier une culture et un savoir qu'on désirait s'approprier pour les dépasser. Origène, dans sa lettre à Grégoire le Thaumaturge, se demande 'en quelles circonstances et à qui les sciences philosophiques sont utiles pour l'interprétation de l'Écriture sainte'.<sup>1</sup> Basile le Grand écrit un traité destiné aux jeunes gens sur la manière de tirer profit des lettres helléniques.<sup>2</sup> Jérôme, qui s'est entendu dire en songe qu'il n'est pas chrétien, mais cicéronien<sup>3</sup>, propose un modèle d'utilisation judicieuse des païens au service de la pensée chrétienne<sup>4</sup>, tout comme Augustin, qui étudie la question de manière systématique dans son *De doctrina christiana*.<sup>5</sup>

A la Renaissance, cette tension entre christianisme et paganisme a fait couler beaucoup d'encre. Comment peut-on prôner un retour à l'héritage culturel de l'Antiquité et en même temps défendre un christianisme radical? Autrement dit, à une époque où l'humanisme se dit et se veut chrétien, est-il permis d'écrire de la poésie 'païenne'? Est-il licite ou convenable de lire les auteurs païens, et en particulier les œuvres immorales

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Orig., *philoc.*, 13 (= *epist.*, 2), *tit.*: 'Πότε καὶ τίσι τὰ ἀπὸ φιλοσοφίας μαθήματα χρήσιμα εἰς τὴν τῶν ἱερῶν γραφῶν διήγησιν...' Voir aussi ci-dessous, note 42.

<sup>2</sup> Voir ci-dessous, notes 34 et 51.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Hier., *epist.*, 22, 30.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. notamment Hier., *epist.*, 70, 2.

<sup>5</sup> Voir ci-dessous, notes 42 et 43. Sur la tension entre paganisme et christianisme dans l'Antiquité, voir Robert A. Kaster, *Guardians of Language: The Grammarian and Society in Late Antiquity*, The transformation of classical heritage, 11 (Berkeley – Los Angeles – Londres: University of California Press, 1988), pp. 70-95, chapitre 'Polished speech, the common good and Christianity'.

qu'ils ont produites? C'est ainsi qu'aux XIV<sup>e</sup> et XV<sup>e</sup> siècles, en Italie, le débat sur les rapports entre christianisme et paganisme fait rage.<sup>6</sup> D'aucuns défendent bec et ongles la culture classique, proclamant le caractère 'théologique' de la poésie, dont les fables, à l'instar de l'Écriture sainte, recèlent souvent de hautes vérités, et nient le danger de la lecture des païens: nul n'est forcé à commettre les actions immorales que les poètes se plaisent à décrire.<sup>7</sup> D'autres, en revanche, se montrent radicalement hostiles à la culture païenne et à toute forme de poésie, et refusent à celle-ci tout caractère théologique.<sup>8</sup> Les études classiques sont dangereuses pour les chrétiens, et en particulier pour les enfants; seuls des adultes avertis peuvent se consacrer aux classiques, dans le but d'extraire des païens ce qui peut être utile à la foi. Les positions des défenseurs de l'un et de l'autre camps sont parfois extrêmement tranchées, d'autres fois beaucoup plus nuancées, et l'on trouve aussi de nombreuses positions intermédiaires. Le parti choisi par chacun dépend de nombreux facteurs: ambiance culturelle, débats idéologiques, intérêts personnels; c'est ainsi qu'un pédagogue verra souvent les choses différemment qu'un poète.

Au début du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, le Valencien Juan Luis Vivès fait partie de ces humanistes, catholiques aussi bien que protestants, qui veulent faire de la république des lettres une république décidément et radicalement chrétienne. Pour lui comme pour ses pairs, la question de la tension entre paganisme et christianisme se pose donc tout naturellement. C'est surtout dans le cadre de ses écrits sur l'éducation et l'enseignement que Vivès va répondre à cette question, qu'il juge d'une importance capitale. Les traités où il développe sa pensée sur ce thème sont le *De tradendis disciplinis* (1531) surtout, mais aussi le *De causis corruptarum artium*<sup>9</sup> (1531),

<sup>6</sup> On trouvera une excellente présentation de cette problématique dans Francesco Bausi, 'Poésie et religion au Quattrocento', in *Poétiques de la Renaissance: Le modèle italien, le monde franco-bourguignon et leur héritage en France au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, éd. par Perrine Galland-Hallyn – Fernand Hallyn, Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 348 (Genève: Droz, 2001), pp. 219-238. Sur le débat poésie – théologie, on lira avec profit Claudio Mésoniat, *Poetica theologia: La 'Lucula Noctis' di Giovanni Dominici e le dispute letterarie tra '300 e '400*, Uomini e dottrine, 27 (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1984).

<sup>7</sup> Parmi les tenants de cette position, on peut mentionner Mussato, Pétrarque, Boccace, Coluccio Salutati, Francesco da Fiano, Ange Politien.

<sup>8</sup> Cette position est notamment celle de Giovanni Dominici, d'Ermolao Barbaro l'Ancien et de Savonarole.

<sup>9</sup> Le *De tradendis disciplinis* et le *De causis* font partie du *De disciplinis*, long ouvrage de vingt livres, publié en 1531, où Vivès expose ses idées sur l'enseignement. L'ensemble est composé de plusieurs traités. Le premier est le *De causis corruptarum artium* et comporte sept livres; il s'agit d'une critique de l'état de corruption auquel les sciences étaient

le *De ratione studii puerilis*<sup>10</sup> (1523), le *De institutione feminae christiana*<sup>11</sup> (1523) et la *Veritas fucata*<sup>12</sup> (dès 1514). Ses interrogations sont les suivantes: quelle attitude doit-on adopter à l'égard de la littérature païenne, de la poésie en particulier, et quelle valeur cette dernière a-t-elle? Quelles lectures peut-on proposer aux filles? Aux garçons? Et si sa réflexion concerne surtout les enfants, Vivès l'étend aussi aux adultes: est-il bon que ces derniers lisent les œuvres des païens?

parvenues durant le Moyen Âge. Le deuxième traité constitue le traité de l'enseignement proprement dit: c'est le *De tradendis disciplinis*, qui comporte cinq livres. Viennent ensuite le *De prima philosophia* (trois livres), le *De explanatione cuiusque essentiae* (un livre), le *De censura veri* (deux livres), le *De instrumento probabilitatis* (un livre) et enfin le *De disputatione* (un livre). Sauf indication contraire, nous citons les œuvres de Vivès dans l'édition de Gregorio Mayans y Siscar, *Ioannis Ludovici Vivis Valentini opera omnia*, 8 vols (Valence: Montfort, 1782-1790 [réimpr. Londres: Gregg Press, 1964]). Le *De causis* et le *De tradendis disciplinis* sont édités dans le vol. VI (1785); le *De prima philosophia*, le *De explanatione*, le *De censura*, le *De instrumento* et le *De disputatione*, dans le vol. III (1782). Sur l'histoire de la structure du *De disciplinis*, voir Valerio Del Nero, *Linguaggio e filosofia in Vives: L'organizzazione del sapere nel 'De disciplinis' (1531)* (Bologne: Cooperativa Libreria Universitaria Editrice, 1991), pp. 15-19. Voir aussi Emilio Hidalgo-Serna (éd.), qui a publié une étude du *De causis*, suivie d'une reproduction du texte latin de l'édition de Mayans y Siscar et d'une traduction allemande: *Über die Gründe des Verfalls der Künste. De causis corruptarum artium*, Humanistische Bibliothek, 28 (Munich: Fink, 1990).

<sup>10</sup> Ouvrage composé de deux lettres où Vivès expose brièvement et avec précision le programme que doivent suivre les enfants pour acquérir les connaissances de base du latin et des auteurs classiques (cf. *Opera omnia*, I (1782), 257-280). La première lettre du *De ratione studii puerilis* (pp. 257-269) est adressée à Catherine d'Aragon, reine d'Angleterre, pour la formation de sa fille Marie. Le destinataire de la deuxième lettre (pp. 270-280) est Charles, le fils de Guillaume Mountjoy, qui fut notamment l'ami et mécène anglais d'Erasme.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. *De institutione feminae christiana*: *Introduction, Critical Edition, Translation and Notes*, 2 vols, éd. par Charles Fantazzi – Constant Matheeußen, *Selected works of J.L. Vives*, 6-7 (Leyde: Brill, 1996-1998); cf. aussi *Opera omnia*, IV (1783). Dans cet ouvrage Vivès propose aux femmes des préceptes pratiques pour la vie courante; son but est de faire d'elles de bonnes mères de famille en même temps que des femmes instruites: Vivès connaissait la petite 'Utopie domestique' de Tomas More, qui donna à ses filles une éducation très poussée. Le livre I concerne les jeunes filles; le livre II, les femmes mariées; le livre III, les veuves.

<sup>12</sup> La *Veritas fucata* parut d'abord en 1514 à Lyon; elle fut ensuite revue et rééditée par Vivès dans ses *Opuscula varia* en 1519. On en trouvera le texte dans Constant Matheeußen – Charles Fantazzi – Edward George (éd.), *Early Writings: De initiis sectis et laudibus philosophiae, Veritas fucata, Anima senis, Pompeius fugiens: Introduction, Critical Edition, Translation and Notes*, *Selected works of J.L. Vives*, 1 (Leyde: Brill, 1987), pp. 61-63 (introduction) et 68-83 (texte et traduction), que nous citons ici; ce texte est absent des *Opera omnia* de Valence mentionnées ci-dessus, note 9. Sur le contenu de cet opuscule, voir ci-dessous, chap. 4; sur la version dialoguée de la *Veritas Fucata*, la *Veritas Fucata, sive de licentia poetica*, parue en 1523, voir ci-dessous, note 28.

## 2. Le but de l'éducation: la formation du chrétien

Pour le philosophe, théologien, philologue et pédagogue Vivès, le but de l'étude est de rendre les enfants plus sages, et, partant, meilleurs.<sup>13</sup> Pour les humanistes, en effet, la vraie sagesse et la vraie philosophie sont la sagesse et la philosophie du Christ. Dans ce contexte, il n'est pas étonnant que l'on se soit posé la question de l'opportunité de la lecture des païens<sup>14</sup>: est-il licite de lire les païens, et en particulier les poètes? La question pourra paraître oiseuse aux hommes et aux femmes du XXI<sup>e</sup> siècle, mais elle était loin de l'être pour Vivès et ses contemporains. 'La question est trop sérieuse et d'une trop grande importance pour que n'importe qui puisse opiner à la légère sur un sujet à propos duquel on ne peut rien dire une fois pour toutes'<sup>15</sup>: il en va finalement du salut de l'âme du lecteur! Et de fait, on ne saurait trop insister sur l'importance de la dimension religieuse dans la pensée de l'humanisme chrétien.<sup>16</sup> Cette dimension sous-tend toute la théorie pédagogique de notre auteur. Elle explique notamment l'importance qu'il accorde au choix du maître, choix qui est en fin de compte une décision morale: les professeurs doivent être non seulement savants, mais aussi d'une moralité au-dessus de tout soupçon.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Cf. *trad. disc.*, 2, 2, p. 278: 'Declaretur ei litterarum finem esse, ut sapientior fiat juvenis, ac inde melior'.

<sup>14</sup> Au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, cette problématique se retrouve dans la question que se posent de nombreux poètes ou théoriciens de la poésie: est-il licite d'écrire de la poésie profane, immorale, voire purement et simplement païenne? Cette question a tourmenté bien des poètes, qu'ils aient écrit en latin ou en français. Jean Vignes, 'Poésie et religion au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle en France', in *Poétiques de la Renaissance*, pp. 257-285, en particulier pp. 264-271 (chap. 'Lutte contre le paganisme et essor de la Muse chrétienne'), montre bien que 'l'un des thèmes récurrents du discours humaniste sur la poésie dans la France du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle est l'indignation que suscite ou devrait susciter chez les chrétiens fervents une poésie moderne non seulement profane et immorale, mais de plus en plus païenne' (p. 264); Vignes analyse notamment les démarches plus ou moins militantes et plus ou moins radicales de Salmon Macrin, Calvin, Marot, Ronsard et Du Bellay. La question du rapport des chrétiens avec les païens sera traitée dans le détail par Erasme, qui défend l'accord entre sagesse antique et sagesse chrétienne dans son célèbre *Antibarbari*, publié en 1520; Vivès connaissait bien ce traité de son maître et ami (voir notamment ci-dessous, note 42). Au début des années 1530, Guillaume Budé se penchera lui aussi sur cette question pour souligner l'importance d'étudier la culture antique afin de la dépasser et de la mettre au service de la pensée chrétienne (voir ci-dessous, notes 31, 43 et 62).

<sup>15</sup> Cf. *trad. disc.*, 1, 6, p. 269: 'Gravior quaestio, et cura dignior, quam quivis facile arbitretur, de qua nihil possit semel in universum dici'.

<sup>16</sup> Sur la nécessité de tenir compte du facteur religieux pour comprendre la Renaissance, cf. Ann Moss, *Renaissance Truth and the Latin Language Turn* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 9.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. *trad. disc.*, 2, 1, p. 276: 'Qui ad magisteria eveherentur, censeantur non ex doctrina modo, sed etiam moribus; doctrina enim cui non respondet vita, res est pernicioosa et turpis'.

Cette conception de l'éducation comme éducation au savoir en même temps qu'à la moralité est omniprésente dans la réflexion de Vivès sur l'attitude à adopter à l'égard de la culture classique et sur le choix des lectures à proposer aux enfants. Le Valencien partage cette conception avec ces grands pédagogues que furent Erasme, Mathurin Cordier, Sébastien Castellion, qui, tout comme lui, composèrent des dialogues scolaires dont le but était de former les enfants dans la langue latine et dans les bonnes mœurs, le cas le plus extrême, si l'on peut dire, étant celui de Castellion, qui composa une sorte de petit abrégé de la Bible à l'usage des enfants, les *Dialogi sacri*.<sup>18</sup>

### 3. Utilité et beauté des classiques

Nul ne saurait nier le profit que l'on peut tirer de la lecture des classiques. Bien des ouvrages des Anciens sont de la plus grande utilité, dans de multiples domaines : mathématiques, histoire, littérature, connaissances encyclopédiques. Grâce aux livres, affirme Vivès, il n'est pas nécessaire d'être particulièrement intelligent pour parvenir à un degré de connaissances très élevé. Les païens véhiculent une incroyable quantité de connaissances, transmises par une foule d'écrivains de génie. Ils offrent de nombreux instruments de réflexion permettant de découvrir la vérité ; ils fournissent même les moyens pour lutter contre les vices et pour grandir dans les vertus. De surcroît, les auteurs classiques se distinguent par l'élégance et le raffinement de leur parole, et peuvent ainsi servir d'exemples à qui cherche à s'exprimer avec précision.<sup>19</sup> Dans ce contexte

<sup>18</sup> Pour les dialogues de Vivès, l'*Exercitatio Linguae Latinae*, cf. *Los Diálogos: Linguae latinae exercitatio*, éd. par María Pilar García Ruiz (Pampelune : Eunsa, 2005) ; voir aussi *Opera omnia*, I (1782), 280-420. Pour les *Colloquia* d'Erasme, voir *Opera omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami, recognita et adnotatione critica instructa notisque illustrata*, éd. par Léon-E. Halkin – Franz Bierlaire – René Hoven (Amsterdam : North-Holland Publishing Company, 1972), I, 3. On trouvera les colloques de Cordier dans *Les Colloques de Mathurin Cordier divisez en quatre livres, traduits de latin en françois, l'un répondant à l'autre pour l'exercice de leurs langues, et maintenant reveus, corrigez et augmentez en cette dernière édition de tres-belles sentences et adages proverbiales de l'auteur mesme* (Rouen : Maurry, 1665). Pour les colloques de Castellion, voir *Dialogues Sacrés, Dialogi Sacri: Premier Livre*, Texte bilingue. Introduction par David Amherdt, établissement du texte et annotation par David Amherdt et Yves Giraud, Textes littéraires français, 571 (Genève : Droz, 2004).

<sup>19</sup> Les arguments que nous avons résumés dans les lignes qui précèdent sont présentés par Vivès dans le *De tradendis disciplinis*, I, 6, pp. 269-270. Une remarque concernant le dernier argument, à savoir la précision de l'expression : Vivès accorde une grande

le latin joue un rôle particulièrement important; en effet, dans sa défense du latin comme langue universelle, en plus de souligner qu'il s'agit d'une langue qui peut faciliter la compréhension entre les hommes et la diffusion du christianisme<sup>20</sup>, qui possède toutes les qualités linguistiques pour être une langue vivante et qui enrichit les autres langues, Vivès montre que le rayonnement géographique du latin permet la diffusion du commerce, du savoir et de la science. Mais que dire du genre poétique, dont l'utilité est autre que scientifique, encyclopédique ou commerciale?

Vivès est loin d'être un contempteur borné de la poésie. Analysant le fait poétique, il affirme qu'il y a chez les poètes 'beaucoup de douceur, de beauté, de grandeur et de merveilles'.<sup>21</sup> Homère, par exemple, présente les passions des hommes de manière extrêmement vivante: ses œuvres sont une image de la vie humaine. Son génie est tel qu'il reste actuel à toutes les époques; malgré le passage des siècles, il garde sa fraîcheur. Et Vivès d'affirmer: 'Ses propos... conviennent tout à fait à notre époque, et à n'importe quelle autre'.<sup>22</sup> La poésie, en outre, 'conçoit dans son élévation des sentiments sublimes et presque célestes'.<sup>23</sup> Par le biais des sonorités et du rythme, la poésie élève l'âme et entre en harmonie avec elle. Les poètes exposent admirablement les affections de l'âme, ils la touchent par la noblesse, la grandeur, la sublimité de leur souffle. Ils se dressent en quelque sorte au-dessus des capacités de l'intelligence et de la nature.<sup>24</sup> Dans la deuxième lettre du *De ratione studii puerilis*, notre

importance à la maîtrise parfaite du langage, instrument de la société humaine, sans lequel l'esprit ne pourrait pas s'exprimer, se dévoiler; c'est pourquoi parents et professeurs ne devront épargner aucun effort pour que les enfants maîtrisent parfaitement la langue de leur patrie, mais aussi les langues acquises par l'étude, comme le latin et le grec (cf. *trad. disc.*, 3, 1, p. 298).

<sup>20</sup> Vivès affirme dans le *De tradendis disciplinis*, 3, 1, pp. 299-300: 'utinam Agareni et nos communem aliquam haberemus linguam; sperarem futurum brevi ut multi se se illorum ad nos reciperent', 'Puissent les Agaréniens et nous-mêmes avoir quelque langue commune. Je pourrais alors espérer que dans un futur proche beaucoup d'entre eux nous rejoignent'. Dans la Bible, les Agaréniens (hébr. Hagrites) sont un peuple arabe, ennemi des Israélites (de 'Agar', l'esclave égyptienne d'Abraham dont elle eut un fils, Ismaël, l'ancêtre supposé des Arabes).

<sup>21</sup> Cf. *trad. disc.*, 3, 5, p. 323: 'in eis [poetis] et dulcia, et pulchra, et magna, atque admirabilia insunt multa.'

<sup>22</sup> Cf. *trad. disc.*, 3, 7, p. 334: '... ut... aetati etiam num nostrae, et cuicumque alii, verba... illius consentanea sint.' Dans la suite de ce passage (pp. 334-335), Vivès présente aussi les dangers de la lecture d'Homère (sur les dangers des poètes, voir ci-dessous, chap. 4).

<sup>23</sup> Cf. *trad. disc.*, 3, 6, p. 330: '[Ingenium poeticae] celsosque, ac paene coelestes spiritus elatione illa concipit.'

<sup>24</sup> Cf. *trad. disc.*, 3, 5, p. 321: 'Equidem quod ad versum attinet, dulces illos esse censeo propter eam congruentiam, quae est melodiae cum animo humano, de qua dicebam

auteur explique en outre que la poésie est un moyen de se reposer de la fatigue du travail, mais aussi de la lecture de la prose : l'alternance entre les vers et la prose permet de se reposer de l'effort de l'esprit. Les poètes regorgent de termes cachés, de figures de tout genre. Ils sont sublimes dans leur faculté d'invention, ils sont agréables, pénétrants, vifs, graves ou légers. Dans l'expression ils sont doux, charmants, gracieux et capables d'éveiller des sentiments de toutes sortes.<sup>25</sup>

#### 4. Le poison et le miel: le poète menteur ou les dangers des auteurs païens

Mais c'est justement ce qui fait la force et la beauté de la poésie qui la rend dangereuse pour les lecteurs. Ainsi, Vivès affirme dans le *De tradendis disciplinis* que la facilité avec laquelle la poésie s'empare du cœur des lecteurs permet aussi aux vices de s'y introduire plus facilement<sup>26</sup>: on ne se méfie pas de ce qui a belle apparence. Le thème du danger des poètes apparaît déjà dans l'une des toutes premières œuvres de Vivès, la *Veritas fucata*, 'La Vérité maquillée', dont le but est de dissuader les jeunes gens de cultiver la vaine poésie. Pour ce faire, notre auteur compare la vérité proclamée dans les universités de l'époque — une vérité défigurée — à une femme maquillée. Il fait ensuite parler la vérité elle-même, qui condamne les vains poètes et les faux philosophes, qui déforment la vérité, préférant la beauté artificielle à la sagesse divine. S'appuyant sur l'autorité de Jérôme, la vérité affirme que les chants des poètes sont nourriture du démon et porteurs de mensonges: le stupide Homère n'a-t-il pas fait du fourbe Ulysse le personnage central de l'*Odyssée*?<sup>27</sup> La conclusion est

modo: sunt in verbis, sive propriis, sive translatis, grandes, sublimes, splendidi; habent ingentium virium argumenta; habent affectuum admirabilem expositionem, quae energia dicitur; afflant magno quodam et excelso spiritu, sicut et afflantur ipsi, ut vel supra ingenii, ac naturae suae captum videantur assurgere.'

<sup>25</sup> Cf. *rat. stud.*, pp. 275-276: 'nam levant [poetae] saepenumero taedium negotiorum, saepe etiam lectionis solutae orationis; et illa alternatio carminis prosaeque diutius intentionem animi in studiis detinet. Ad hoc scatent reconditis vocabulis, et figuris omnis generis, quibus etiam communis sermo plenus est: sunt in inventione sublimes, jucundi, acuti, acres, graves, faciles: in verbis suaves, lepidi, festivi: rapiunt in affectus omnes, prout cujuscunque est argumentum.'

<sup>26</sup> Cf. *trad. disc.*, 3, 5, p. 321: 'quae sunt hujus generis, vehementer possunt nocere, si quis habeat fidem dicenti, et nescio quo pacto impetrant fidem suavitate versus in pectora audientium blande illapsi.'

<sup>27</sup> *Ver. fuc.*, 12: 'Daemonum cibus sunt, inquit Hieronymus meus, carmina poetarum, illorum quidem qui et sibi mentiri didicerunt et alios docent, auctore illo ad mentiendum,



claire: il faut chasser des universités les poètes menteurs pour les remplacer par des philosophes qui se consacrent à la sagesse.<sup>28</sup>

Le thème revient en force dans le quatrième chapitre du *De causis corruptarum artium*, où notre auteur se livre à une attaque en règle contre la poésie, qui contraste avec les éloges qu'il en fait ailleurs.<sup>29</sup> Dans ce chapitre, Vivès répète inlassablement les mêmes arguments<sup>30</sup>: la poésie exalte la vie des héros et des dieux — qui n'est qu'immoralité, perversion, violence et cruauté —, les aventures amoureuses, les adultères et bien d'autres comportements immoraux des humains. Or, la beauté de la langue poétique séduit le lecteur, même indépendamment de la perversité du message, lequel en retire en tout cas une force de persuasion beaucoup plus grande.<sup>31</sup> La rhétorique séduit les oreilles des auditeurs et flatte leur

ut ait Dion Prusensis, strenuissimo, caeco et insano sene Homero, quem semper mendacio delectatum hoc erit indicio, quod Ulyssem, illum erronem, delicias suas, omnia fere mentientem inducit et hunc, si diis placet, eius similes homines vaniloqui ingeniorum et fontem et parentem appellat.'

<sup>28</sup> *Ver. fuc.*, 13: 'Quin ex domicilio vestro istos poetistas et vanos homines avellit is vosque vestram hanc nobilissimam rem publicam, mundam, florentem, nulla faece hominum contaminatam et pollutam, in pace et iustitia gubernatis? [...] Quam Platonicum illud, ut alia eiusdem permulta, verum esse experior: beatas fore res publicas, si eas vel philosophi regerent vel earum rectores sapientiae contingeret studere!' En 1523 Vivès publiera sur le même thème, chez Martens, à Louvain, un dialogue auquel il donnera un titre un peu plus long et plus explicite qu'au premier opusculé: *Veritas fucata, sive de licentia poetica (quantum poetis liceat a veritate abscedere)*; cf. *Opera omnia*, II (1782), 517-531. Il s'agit d'un dialogue entre Vivès et son ami le philosophe Juan de Vergara. L'ouvrage a pour thème principal la corruption de la vérité par la poésie. Les arguments sont à peu de choses près les mêmes que dans la première *Veritas fucata*.

<sup>29</sup> Voir ci-dessus, chap. 3.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. *caus. corr.*, 2, 4, pp. 93-101.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. *caus. corr.*, 2, 4, p. 96: 'atqui omnia de libidine, de saevitie, de inani gloria, de fraudibus, non dicta sunt ruditer, atque impolite, sed exulta, exornata, ut etiam absque omni rei ipsius illectamento verba ipsa per se arriderent, atque abblanderentur.' Dans un passage du *De tradendis disciplinis*, Vivès se demande comment il se fait que les poètes de l'Antiquité aient acquis tant d'autorité même auprès des sages; l'une des raisons est justement que la douceur de leur parole entraîne l'adhésion des auditeurs. A cette raison Vivès ajoute deux autres: on accorde toujours beaucoup de crédit à l'ancienneté; on a cru que les poètes étaient inspirés par la divinité (cf. *trad. disc.*, 3, 5, pp. 323-324). Aux XIV<sup>e</sup> et XV<sup>e</sup> siècles les défenseurs de la poésie ont très souvent eu recours à cette dernière raison: c'est le thème du caractère théologique de la poésie (cf. l'article de Bausi, 'Poésie et religion au Quattrocento'; voir aussi Mésoniat, *Poetica theologia*, en particulier chap. II, 'La questione di poesia e scrittura', pp. 61-121). Vivès ne s'attarde pas davantage sur le sujet. Budé quant à lui explique que l'ancienne poésie renferme certes des semences de théologie, mais très incomplètes et déformées, qui peuvent de ce fait devenir un véhicule du paganisme, cf. Guillaume Budé, *De studio literarum recte et commode instituendo. L'étude des lettres: principes pour sa juste et bonne institution* [1532], texte original trad.,

âme.<sup>32</sup> La beauté agit en fait comme le miel qui neutralise le goût du poison<sup>33</sup> : il s'agit d'un lieu commun que Vivès reprend à plusieurs reprises dans ses textes sur les dangers de la poésie; il affirme par exemple dans le *De tradendis* que la beauté de la forme cache parfois très bien les dangers du message, tout comme le miel et le vin doux adoucissent le poison.<sup>34</sup> C'est ainsi que le vice pénètre dans l'âme des lecteurs, qui sont induits en erreur: c'est l'éternel lieu commun du poète menteur...<sup>35</sup> Ce qui est valable pour la poésie l'est évidemment aussi pour la prose qui, si sa forme est peut-être moins attrayante, peut aussi véhiculer un message nocif.

### 5. Les champs empoisonnés, les plumes de l'aigle et les dépouilles d'Egypte: quelle censure?

En fait, la lecture des païens peut être profitable ou pernicieuse. Ainsi, l'influence des œuvres païennes a été désastreuse pour certains — et

présenté et annoté par Marie-Madeleine de La Garanderie; avec les additions et corr. inédites de l'auteur, *Les Classiques de l'Humanisme. Textes*, 7 (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1988), pp. 20-21.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. *caus. corr.*, 2, 4, p. 93: '... rythmus, et concentus quidam harmonicus, quo audientium aures capiuntur, et demulcentur animi.'

<sup>33</sup> Cf. *caus. corr.*, 2, 4, p. 94: 'hoc asperserunt res leves, ac noxias, et tamquam melle venenum intinxerunt.'

<sup>34</sup> Cf. *trad. disc.*, 1, 6, p. 270: 'admiscent tamen his tam salutaribus perniciose non pauca, et quasi venenum melle aut suavissimo vino temperant.' Voir aussi *caus. corr.*, 2, 3, p. 96: 'dulci veneno dulce additum est condimentum.' Le lieu commun, que l'on trouve déjà chez Ovide (*Ov., am.*, 1, 8, 104: 'impia sub dulci melle venena latent'), est cher à Jérôme (cf. *Hier., epist.*, 15, 4: 'venenum sub melle latet', et surtout *epist.*, 107, 6: 'Venena non dantur, nisi melle circumlita, et vitia non decipiunt, nisi sub specie umbraque virtutum'). Dans sa *Lettre aux Tralliens*, Ignace d'Antioche engage ses ouailles à n'utiliser que de la nourriture chrétienne et à s'abstenir de toute plante étrangère; ces plantes étrangères figurent l'hérésie que répandent ceux qui entremêlent le Christ à leurs erreurs et que l'on peut comparer à ceux qui 'donnent un poison mortel avec du vin mêlé de miel' (cf. *Ign., Trall.*, 6, 2: 'ὥσπερ θανάσιμον φάρμακον διδόντες μετὰ οἰνομέλιτος'). Basile le Grand met les jeunes gens en garde contre les dangers qui guettent l'âme: il faut notamment éviter que l'attrait du langage leur fasse admettre des principes mauvais, comme ceux qui avalent le poison avec le miel (cf. *Bas., leg. lib. gent.*, 4, ll. 12-15: 'Διὸ δὴ πάση φυλακῇ τὴν ψυχὴν τηρητέον, μὴ διὰ τῆς τῶν λόγων ἡδονῆς παραδεξάμενοι τι λάθωμεν τῶν χειρόνων, ὥσπερ οἱ τὰ δηλητήρια μετὰ τοῦ μέλιτος προσιέμενοι').

<sup>35</sup> Il apparaît notamment chez Platon (voir ci-dessous, note 62). Sur ce lieu commun, voir aussi A. Otto, *Die Sprichwörter und Sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1890), p. 283, n° 1444, 'poeta 2'.

Vivès de citer l'exemple de l'empereur Julien.<sup>36</sup> En revanche, l'expérience montre que les œuvres païennes lues avec les précautions nécessaires ont été utiles à bien des chrétiens, tels Origène, Basile le Grand, Jean Chrysostome, Tertullien, Jérôme, Ambroise, Augustin.<sup>37</sup> En effet, l'étude d'ouvrages dangereux peut être très utile, car elle permet de se servir du mal pour faire le bien. Vivès use dans ce contexte du lieu commun du poison utilisé contre le poison<sup>38</sup> : il s'agit de se servir des païens pour combattre ces mêmes païens ou pour fournir des arguments aux chrétiens. Julien l'Apostat, affirme Vivès, était bien conscient de ce danger, lui qui interdit aux chrétiens d'enseigner les arts libéraux, 'de peur qu'ils n'arrachent à l'aigle des plumes qui leur permettraient de percer l'aigle'.<sup>39</sup>

Il faut donc conserver ce qui est utile et rejeter le reste. Et cette règle de conduite — nous y reviendrons — est valable pour les enfants aussi bien que pour les adultes.

Il serait très prudent, en raison de la faiblesse et des ténèbres de notre intelligence, que ces textes soient nettoyés, afin que disparaisse tout risque de nuisance, et que nous nous limitions enfin à ces champs dans lesquels ne croissent que des herbes d'une certaine utilité<sup>40</sup> ou qui pro-

<sup>36</sup> Cf. *trad. disc.*, 1, 6, p. 269.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. *trad. disc.*, 1, 6, p. 269.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. *trad. disc.*, 1, 6, p. 270: 'quin sapientes viri haud secus noxiis utuntur interim contra noxia, ac periti medici venenis contra venena; sic illi conferunt haec cum nostris ad demonstrandam et illorum impuritatem, et excellentiam nostrorum.' Augustin développe une image semblable à propos du poison de l'hérésie, cf. Aug., *c. Pelag.*, 3, 7, 18: 'Quamquam itaque ipsum satanam elatio prima deiecerit, tamen summus ille medicus, qui bene uti novit etiam malis, de angelo satanae adhibuit contra elationis vitium salubre quamvis molestum medicamentum, sicut fieri consuevit antidotum etiam de serpentibus contra venena serpentum.'

<sup>39</sup> Cf. *trad. disc.*, 1, 6, p. 270: 'idcirco Julianus apostata, quum maxime persequeretur Christianos, artes eos liberales vetuit docere, ne scilicet de aquila pennas evellerent, quibus aquilam configerent.' Cf. Juln. Imp., *fr.*, 6-7: '[6] ... ἵνα μὴ ἀκονόμενοι τὴν γλῶτταν ἐτοίμως πρὸς τοὺς διαλεκτικούς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπαντῶσιν. [7] ... τοῖς οἰκείοις γὰρ πτεροῖς κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν βαλλόμεθα. ἐκ γὰρ τῶν ἡμετέρων συγγραμμάτων καθοπλιζόμενοι τὸν καθ' ἡμῶν ἀναδέχονται πόλεμον' (*The Works of the Emperor Julian*, with an English transl. by Wilmer Cave Wright, The Loeb classical library, 13, 29, 157, 3 vols (Londres: Heinemann, 1913-1923), III, 298). Le même thème sera repris sous une autre forme par Joachim Du Bellay dans son poème 'La Lyre chrestienne', in *Œuvres poétiques*, IV: *Recueils lyriques*, éd. par Henri Chamard (Paris: Hachette, 1919), vv. 67-70, 'Des Grecz & des Romains aussi | Prenons les bouclers & guyzarmes: | L'ennemy baillera les armes | Dont luy mesme' sera batu.'

<sup>40</sup> L'image du champ où poussent des herbes utiles ou nocives revient fréquemment dans le *De tradendis disciplinis*. C'est ainsi que Vivès affirme que les livres des païens sont 'comparables à un vaste champ, dans lequel poussent des herbes en partie utiles, en partie nuisibles, en partie destinées à l'agrément ou à l'ornement, comme certaines fleurs',

curent un plaisir noble, plantées à cet endroit par un paysan honnête et prudent, et provenant des sûrs bosquets de la sainte religion; ou alors que ce soient des plantes cueillies dans des champs dangereux, mais qui nous sont utiles, tout comme les trésors des Egyptiens qu'on utilisait pour orner le temple.<sup>41</sup>

Vivès use ici de l'allégorie des 'dépouilles d'Egypte', très fréquente dans la littérature patristique et médiévale: les Hébreux, en quittant l'Egypte, emportent avec eux les richesses du pays qu'ils sont parvenus à obtenir au moyen d'une ruse.<sup>42</sup> Il s'agit d'un lieu commun qui caractérise les rapports entre la culture et la foi: la foi peut utiliser les richesses de la

cf. *trad. disc.*, 1, 6, p. 269: 'quapropter necesse est libros illos ceu latum quendam esse agrum, in quo herbae proveniant partim utiles, partim noxiae, partim ad delicias paratae, vel ornamenta, ut flosculi quidam.' Dans le *De tradendis disciplinis*, 3, 5, p. 320: 'Veniat jam ad lectionem gentilium, tamquam in agros venenis infames praemunitus antidoto', il compare la littérature païenne à un champ sur lequel ont poussé des plantes nocives. L'image des herbes nuisibles apparaît sous une forme quelque peu différente (ce sont les mauvaises herbes de l'hérésie) chez Ignace d'Antioche, dans sa *Lettre aux Tralliens*, dans le passage cité ci-dessus, note 34; l'image renvoie en dernière analyse au passage évangélique de *Mt.*, 15, 13: 'Toute plante que mon père céleste n'a pas plantée sera arrachée'.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. *trad. disc.*, 1, 6, pp. 270-271: 'esset omnino consultissimum propter infirmitatem et tenebras nostri ingenii, haec esse repurgata, ut nulla occasio nocumenti foret reliqua, vel ut in iis demum campis versaremur, in quibus solae herbae utilitatis cujusquam, aut honestae voluptatis, crescerent, a probo et prudenti agricola illic satae, ex tutis viridariis sanctae religionis desumtae, aut quae convenirent, ex periculosis agris huc translatae, tamquam thesauri Aegyptiorum ad ornatum templi conversi.'

<sup>42</sup> Cf. *Ex.*, 3, 22; 11, 1-2; 12, 35. L'idée que ces richesses, surtout l'or, servirent à orner le sanctuaire de Yahvé, est sans doute directement empruntée à Erasme par notre auteur: le 'ad ornatum templi conversi' de Vivès est très proche du 'ad... templi honestamentum convertere' d'Erasme (cf. Erasme, *Enchiridion militis christiani*, in Werner Welzig (éd.), *Epistola ad Paulum Volzium. Enchiridion militis christiani*, *Ausgewählte Schriften*, 1 (Darmstadt: WBG, 1995), p. 172: 'Si tibi confidis et ingens in Christo lucrum speras, perge ... Aegyptias opes ad dominici templi honestamentum convertere'). Erasme quant à lui emprunte probablement l'image à Origène, qui parle de l'utilisation de l'or égyptien pour orner le Saint des Saints dans un célèbre passage de sa lettre à Grégoire le Thaumaturge, cf. Orig., *philoc.*, 13 (= *epist.*, 2), 2: 'ἵνα σκυλεύσαντες τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους εὐρωσιν ὕλην πρὸς τὴν κατασκευὴν τῶν παραλαμβανομένων εἰς τὴν πρὸς θεὸν λατρείαν'. Chez Erasme, voir encore *Antibarbari*, éd. par Kazimierz Kumaniecki, in *Opera omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami, recognita et adnotatione critica instructa notisque illustrata*, I, 1 (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company, 1969), 116-118. L'image fait l'objet d'un célèbre développement chez Augustin, dans le *De doctrina christiana*, 2, 60-63. Sur le lieu commun des dépouilles d'Egypte, voir notamment André Godin, *Erasme lecteur d'Origène*, Travaux d'Humanisme et de Renaissance, 190 (Genève: Droz, 1982), pp. 51-52; Henri de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale. Les quatre sens de l'Ecriture*, 4 vols (Paris: Aubier, 1959-64), I, 294-295. L'image de la 'Belle captive' est une autre expression de ce lieu commun illustrant les rapports entre paganisme et christianisme (cf. *Dt.*, 21, 10-13, où les hommes d'Israël reçoivent de Yahvé la permission de prendre pour épouses les belles femmes qu'ils auront vues parmi les prisonniers ennemis; l'image est notamment développée par Jérôme, *epist.*, 70, 2).

culture païenne pour les mettre au service de Dieu. L'allégorie des dépouilles d'Égypte est fréquente dans la littérature de la Renaissance, dans des contextes divers, et notamment dans des écrits de théorie poétique étudiant la place de la poésie chrétienne par rapport aux païens.<sup>43</sup>

Il faut donc se persuader qu'il est préférable de lire des ouvrages chrétiens ou bien des ouvrages païens purgés de tout ce qui pourrait faire tort aux bonnes mœurs.<sup>44</sup> En tout état de cause — et cela concerne surtout les enfants — le rôle du maître et de l'autorité morale en général est essentiel: s'il n'est pas possible d'écarter tout ce qui est nuisible, que du moins l'on se confie à l'honnêteté et à la prudence d'un homme qui, selon l'intelligence et les dispositions de chacun, taira le danger ou le désignera.<sup>45</sup> Il s'agit de ne prendre dans le champ empoisonné que ce qui est utile; le reste, il n'est même pas nécessaire que le maître l'explique. Vivès rapporte à cet égard une anecdote de Lorenzo Valla, qui, à propos d'un terme obscène, affirma: 'Je préfère qu'il soit ignoré plutôt que connu par l'intermédiaire de mon enseignement'.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>43</sup> Budé, dans son désir de souligner la nécessité de passer des études helléniques (païennes) aux études chrétiennes, reprend lui aussi l'interprétation allégorique de *Ex.*, 3, 22; cf. Guillaume Budé, *De transitu Hellenismi ad Christianismum. Le passage de l'hellénisme au christianisme* [1535], intr., trad. et annot. par Marie-Madeleine de La Garanderie et Daniel Franklin Penham, Les Classiques de l'Humanisme, 9 (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1993), 3, 119: 'Longe enim maiores (quod Augustinus inquit) divitiae Solomonis regis fuerunt, quam aurum, quam argentum, quam supellex, quam vestis, a Mose quondam Iudaeisque ex Aegypto ablata et deportata': la richesse de Salomon fut beaucoup plus grande que la valeur représentée par les trésors enlevés aux Égyptiens par Moïse et les Juifs. Budé reprend ici de manière libre la réflexion d'Augustin, *doctr. christ.*, 2, 63: 'Quantum autem minor est auri, argenti vestisque copia, quam de Aegypto secum ille populus abstulit, in comparatione divitiarum quas postea Hierosolymae consecutus est, quae maxime in Salomone rege ostenduntur, tanta fit cuncta scientia, quae quidem est utilis collecta de libris gentium, si divinarum scripturarum scientiae comparatur.' Du Bellay, dans 'La Lyre chrestienne', reprend aussi ce lieu commun, cf. vv. 57-64, 'D'Israël le peuple ancien | Affranchi du cruel service, | Du riche meuble Egyptien | Fist à Dieu plaisant sacrifice: | Et pour embellir l'edifice | Que Dieu se faisoit eriger | Salomon n'estima pas vice | De mandier l'or estranger.' Du Bellay juxtapose deux épisodes bibliques: celui des dépouilles d'Égypte et celui de Salomon qui n'hésita pas à se servir des bois de cèdre et de cyprès ainsi que de l'or que lui remit Hiram, le roi de Tyr, un étranger (cf. *I Reg.*, 5, 15-32; 9, 10-14).

<sup>44</sup> Cf. *trad. disc.*, 1, 6, p. 271: 'itaque nemini bono viro arbitror in dubium venturum, quin praestet vel a Christianis accipi doctrinam Christianam christiane traditam, vel ex monumentis impiorum, resectis iis quae integritati bonorum morum possent officere.'

<sup>45</sup> Cf. *trad. disc.*, 1, 6, p. 271: 'praeceat viam vir aliquis non solum eruditione praeditus, sed probitate etiam ac prudentia, cui nos credamus tamquam duci, qui a periculis dimoveat, vel tacite extra significationem periculi.'

<sup>46</sup> Cf. *trad. disc.*, 3, 5, p. 321: 'bene Laurentius Valla de verbo quodam obscoeno: Ignorari malo, quam me docente sciri.' Nous n'avons pas trouvé ce passage de Valla.

Il faut bien sûr établir une différence entre les enfants et les adultes, qui peuvent plus facilement se rendre compte du caractère pernicieux de leurs lectures. Mais les adultes ne sont pas à l'abri de tout danger, tant s'en faut.<sup>47</sup> Une fois de plus, on constate l'importance primordiale que revêt aux yeux de Vivès la dimension religieuse: certains adultes imprudents pourraient tomber dans les filets du malin et être contaminés par les mauvaises lectures. 'Les pensées des hommes sont pleines d'erreurs; ce qui s'oppose à la piété est fruit de la vanité des hommes et des impostures de notre très subtil ennemi diabolique'.<sup>48</sup> C'est le cas des gens qui, mus par une curiosité malsaine, 'n'hésitent pas à goûter la ciguë et à faire l'expérience de sa saveur, ce qui se révèle mortel pour l'homme'.<sup>49</sup> L'intelligence et l'expérience du mal, affirme Vivès, sont utiles à peu de monde et le risque de se laisser entraîner par ce mal plutôt que de s'en servir pour faire le bien est grand.<sup>50</sup>

L'attitude de Vivès à l'égard des poètes en particulier est identique. Alors qu'il les attaquait très violemment dans la *Veritas Fucata* et dans le *De causis*, dans le *De tradendis disciplinis* il affirme qu'il serait dommage de se priver des richesses des poètes et de les proscrire totalement sous prétexte qu'ils peuvent corrompre les mœurs. Vivès affirme donc qu'il n'est pas nécessaire d'éliminer les poètes, mais qu'il faut les purger de tout ce qui pourrait causer du tort au lecteur<sup>51</sup>, ou encore qu'il ne faut pas 'amputer le membre atteint [c'est-à-dire qu'il n'est pas nécessaire d'interdire le poète], mais le soigner en lui appliquant un remède [qui consistera à laisser de côté les passages tendancieux]'.<sup>52</sup> On fera comme dans

<sup>47</sup> Ce n'est pas seulement l'enfant qui est menacé, mais aussi l'adulte et celui qui a reçu une bonne formation, cf. *trad. disc.*, 3, 5, pp. 322-323, notamment p. 323: 'id si ita est, non videtur attingenda puero... sed jam grandiori natu, et sanis opinionibus imbuto.'

<sup>48</sup> Cf. *trad. disc.*, 3, 5, p. 321: 'quae homines excogitarint, plena esse erroribus; quae contra pietatem sint, ex vanitate hominum orta esse, et imposturis diaboli hostis vaferim.'

<sup>49</sup> Cf. *trad. disc.*, 1, 6, p. 270: 'periculosa sunt haec curiosis, quales illi sunt, qui non dubitant cicutam gustare, et experiri cujus sit saporis, id quod hominem extinguit.'

<sup>50</sup> Cf. *trad. disc.*, 1, 6, p. 271: 'intelligentia ac peritia mali paucis prodest, praesertim si, quemadmodum malo illo uti possimus, ostendatur cum aliqua nostra vel oblectatione, vel (ut vulgo solemus loqui) utilitate.'

<sup>51</sup> Basile affirme dans sa lettre aux jeunes gens: 'Nous ne louerons donc pas les poètes en toutes choses' (cf. Bas., *leg. lib. gent.*, 4, l. 15-16: 'Οὐ τοίνυν <ἐν πᾶσιν> ἐπαινεσόμεθα τοὺς ποιητάς').

<sup>52</sup> Cf. *trad. disc.*, 3, 5, p. 323: 'non amputari affectum membrum, sed medicamento adhibito curari.' La réflexion rappelle un passage du *De officiis* d'Ambroise, qui compare l'évêque à un bon médecin, qui ne se résout à amputer le membre malade que lorsqu'il n'y a plus d'espoir de le sauver grâce aux médicaments (cf. Ambr., *off.*, 2, 27, 135: 'Cum

les jardins, dont on arrache les plantes nocives pour ne garder que celles qui ne présentent aucun danger pour la santé.<sup>53</sup> En particulier, 'que les obscénités soient entièrement abolies, comme s'il s'agissait de corps morts risquant de contaminer ce qui est entré en contact avec eux'.<sup>54</sup> A l'égard des enfants, Vivès est partisan d'une pédagogie différenciée et personnalisée. En effet, ce qui convient à certains ne convient pas à d'autres. Ainsi, notre auteur affirme qu'il faut tenir l'enfant à l'écart des auteurs susceptibles de favoriser le vice dont il souffre: ainsi, 'le sensuel doit être tenu à l'écart d'Ovide, le facétieux de Martial, le médisant et le moqueur de Lucien [...], au fanfaron, Cicéron ne convient pas particulièrement'.<sup>55</sup>

En fin de compte — et nous revenons à notre réflexion de départ — il en va de la santé morale et du salut éternel des lecteurs, qui valent bien plus que toutes les beautés de la poésie.<sup>56</sup> Voilà pourquoi Vivès relève l'importance toute relative de certains textes immoraux:

Le genre humain fera-t-il vraiment une perte intolérable si l'on retire d'un poète immoral la partie nuisible? [...] Bien plus, tant de grands ouvrages de philosophes et d'auteurs sacrés sont perdus, et ce serait un crime lourd de conséquence et insupportable si périssaient Tibulle ou l'*Art d'aimer* d'Ovide?<sup>57</sup>

Mais Vivès n'a rien d'un extrémiste. Dans le programme de lectures très développé qu'il propose dans le *De tradendis disciplinis*, rares sont les

dolore amputatur etiam quae putruit pars corporis, et diu tractatur si potest sanari medicamentis; si non potest, tunc a medico bono absciditur. Sic episcopi adfectus boni est ut optet sanare infirmos, serpentina auferre ulcera, adurere aliqua, non abscidere; postremo quod sanari non potest, cum dolore abscidere').

<sup>53</sup> Cf. *trad. disc.*, 3, 5, p. 323: '... quisquis eam repurgationem erit aggressus, haud aliter quam de hortis, qui venenis illinc eruncatis, solas reliquerit herbas salutes.' Sur l'image de la plante nocive qu'il faut arracher, voir ci-dessus, note 40.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. *trad. disc.*, 3, 5, p. 323: 'obscoena in totum rescindantur, tamquam emortua, et pertractura in contagium quae tetigerint.'

<sup>55</sup> Cf. *trad. disc.*, 3, 5, p. 320: 'ante omnia arcendus puer ab auctore, qui vitium potest fovere, ac nutrire, quo is laboret; ut libidinosus ab Ovidio, scurrilis a Martiale, maledicus et subsannator a Luciano [...], gloriosulo non multum conferet Cicero.'

<sup>56</sup> La règle d'or pour le choix des auteurs est la suivante: choisir des auteurs qui non seulement rendent les enfants plus savants, mais leur apprennent aussi à mener une vie droite (cf. *rat. stud.*, p. 269: 'Auctores in quibus [puella] versabitur, ii erunt qui pariter et linguam et mores excolant, atque instituant; quique non modo bene scire doceant, sed bene vivere').

<sup>57</sup> Cf. *trad. disc.*, 3, 5, p. 323: 'scilicet intolerabilem faciet humanum genus jacturam, si ex spurco poeta partem abscindas noxiam? [...] Immo vero amissa sunt tot philosophorum et sacrorum auctorum monumenta, et grave erit, ac non ferendum facinus, si Tibullus pereat, aut ars amandi Nasonis?'

absents.<sup>58</sup> Parmi les célébrités antiques dont il ne souffle mot, il y a par exemple Pétrone et Sappho. Des écrivains comme Martial sont tolérés: on veillera toutefois à éliminer des *Epigrammes* les passages obscènes.<sup>59</sup> De même, il est permis de lire des épigrammes grecques, pourvu qu'elles soient décentes.<sup>60</sup>

Dans le *De institutione feminae christianae*, où il présente son programme de lectures pour les filles, Vivès cite le *De Remedio amoris*, où Ovide conseille de ne pas lire les poètes érotiques, auxquels il avoue appartenir lui-même.<sup>61</sup> Nous vivons dans une cité chrétienne, affirme Vivès; il faudrait donc chasser de notre cité ces poètes, comme Platon chassa Homère et Hésiode — il s'agit là d'un lieu commun de la réflexion sur la moralité des poètes.<sup>62</sup> De même, Auguste condamna Ovide à la relégation et on permettrait que l'auteur des *Amours* soit expliqué dans les classes! Les jeunes filles doivent éviter les livres immoraux au même titre que les vipères et les scorpions!<sup>63</sup>

<sup>58</sup> Ce programme de lectures fait l'objet des chapitres 6 à 9 du troisième livre du *De tradendis disciplinis*, pp. 324-344. Vivès se distingue par la variété et l'équilibre de son programme de lectures, l'un des plus complets proposés par les humanistes de l'époque (cf. Carlos G. Noreña, *Juan Luis Vives*, International Archives of the History of Ideas, 34 (La Haye: Nijhoff, 1970), p. 295). Dans ce programme, les auteurs de l'Antiquité (païenne et chrétienne) côtoient des auteurs de la Renaissance, parmi lesquels on trouve de nombreux contemporains de Vivès.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. *trad. disc.*, 3, 9, p. 343: 'ex Martiale rejicienda obscoena.'

<sup>60</sup> Cf. *trad. disc.*, 3, 7, p. 335: 'Graeca aliquot epigrammata, quae argutias et salem habebant non spurcum.'

<sup>61</sup> Cf. *inst. fem.*, 1, 5, 33; *Ov., rem.*, 757-766, 'Eloquar invitus: teneros ne tange poetas! | Summoveo dotes impius ipse meas. | [...] | Et mea nescio quid carmina tale sonant.'

<sup>62</sup> Selon Platon, les poètes, en particulier Homère et Hésiode, ne sont que menteurs et débiteurs de contes, incapables de former à la vertu: ils n'ont pas leur place dans sa République (cf. *Plat., Rep.*, 2, 377c-378e; 3, 386a-393c). Dans 'La Lyre chrestienne', Joachim Du Bellay affirme, aux vers 25 à 32: 'Jadis le fameux inventeur | De la doctrine Academique | Chassoit le poëte menteur | Par les loix de sa republique. | Ou est donq' l'esprit tant cynique, | Qui ose donner quelque lieu | Aux chansons de la Lyre ethnique, | En la Republique de Dieu?' Voir aussi Guillaume Budé, *De studio literario*, p. 20: 'Quae causa fuit (ut opinor) cur Plato in secundo Rerumpublicarum libro, Homerum et Hesiodum ut praecones impietatis e civitate expulerit, quam instituendam ducebat.'

<sup>63</sup> Cf. *inst. fem.*, 1, 5, 34 (cf. notamment 'Feminae igitur hi omnes libri non secus quam vipera vel scorpius aversandi sunt'). Dans sa lettre à Laeta sur l'éducation des filles, Jérôme explique à sa correspondante que de même qu'elle doit veiller à ce que sa fille ne soit pas mordue par une vipère, elle doit la préserver de tout ce qui pourrait la corrompre (cf. *Hier., epist.*, 107, 6: 'Sollicita provides, ne filia percutiatur a vipera; cur non eadem cura provideas, ne feriat a "malleo universae terrae" [cf. *Jr.*, 50, 23]; ne bibat de aureo calice Babylonis; ne egrediatur cum Dina, et velit videre filias regionis alienae, ne ludat pedibus, ne trahat tunicas?').



Nous l'avons vu, Vivès ne méprise pas la poésie profane, dont il reconnaît la beauté et l'utilité. Il n'en demeure par moins qu'il semble accorder une certaine supériorité à la poésie chrétienne, et ce essentiellement en raison du message irréprochable dont elle est porteuse; pour ce qui est de la forme, il affirme certes, mais sans trop de conviction, que les poètes chrétiens n'ont rien à envier aux païens. Ainsi, dans la deuxième lettre du *De ratione studii puerilis*, il conseille aux garçons de lire les poètes chrétiens Prudence, Prosper, Paulin, Sedulius, Juvencus et Arator: ces auteurs, en plus de l'enseignement religieux qu'ils véhiculent, rivalisent en élégance et en beauté avec les anciens, et l'emportent même parfois sur eux.<sup>64</sup> Notre auteur revient à deux reprises sur ce thème dans son programme de lectures pour les filles. Dans la première lettre du *De ratione studii puerilis*, adressée à Catherine d'Aragon, il préconise la lecture des poètes chrétiens Sidoine, Paulin, Arator, Prosper, Juvencus, à propos desquels Vivès affirme qu'ils peuvent rivaliser avec n'importe lequel des anciens par l'élégance — naturellement, pour ce qui est du contenu, ils leur sont largement supérieurs, dans la même mesure que le bien l'emporte sur le mal et le divin sur l'humain.<sup>65</sup> Dans le *De institutione feminae christianae*, Vivès demande que, pour ce qui est de la poésie, la fille se limite à Prudence, Arator, Prosper, Juvencus et Paulin; et notre auteur de répéter que ces poètes ne le cèdent pas en beaucoup aux païens.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>64</sup> Cf. *rat. stud.*, p. 276: 'Legendi et poetae nostrae pietatis, Prudentius, Prosper, Paulinus, Sedulius, Juvencus, et Arator. Qui quum habeant res altissimas, et humano generi salutares, non omnino sunt in verbis rudes, aut contemnendi. Multa habent quibus elegantia et venustate carminis certent cum antiquis, nonnulla quibus etiam eos vincant.' Prudence, Arator, Juvencus et Sedulius font partie des auteurs conseillés par Giovanni Dominici dans sa *Lucula Noctis*, 45, ll. 133-137: 'Si delectat poetas legere et moralium auctores dictorum propter dulcedinem metri et eloquii venustatem, necnon scientie partibiliter tamen veritatem, legantur primo Torquatus [Boèce], buccolicum Petrarche, Dantisve, Prudentii, Sedulii, Aratoris, Iuvencii.' (*Iohannis Dominici Lucula noctis*, ed. Edmund Hunt, Publications in Mediaeval Studies, 4 (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame, 1940), p. 395).

<sup>65</sup> Cf. *rat. stud.*, p. 269, 'Sunt et Christiani poetae, quos jucundum fructuosumque erit legere, velut Prudentius, Sydonius, Paulinus, Arator, Prosper, Juvencus, qui multis in locis possint cum quovis veterum certare, elegantia carminis dico, nam rebus tanto sunt superiores, quantum bona malis praestant, et humanis divina.'

<sup>66</sup> Cf. *inst. fem.*, 1, 5, 35, 'Neque vero poetis carebit, si capiatur numeris. Aderunt Prudentius, Arator, Prosper, Juvencus, Paulinus, qui non multum antiquis concedant.' Vivès admet tout de même pour les filles la lecture de Lucain, de Sénèque le Tragique et d'une grande partie d'Horace (cf. *rat. stud.*, p. 269).

## 6. Conclusion: exaltation ou censure? Vivès l'humaniste pédagogue

Dans sa présentation des arguments pour ou contre la culture classique, Vivès reprend nombre de lieux communs que l'on trouve dans l'Antiquité et dans la Renaissance italienne, et que l'on retrouve après lui chez différents auteurs: le poison dont la saveur est neutralisée par le miel (les dangers des païens), le poison utilisé contre le poison (nécessité de connaître les païens pour les combattre), l'allégorie des dépouilles d'Égypte (il faut prendre aux païens ce qui peut servir à la pensée chrétienne), l'image du champ où poussent des herbes nocives et d'autres salutaires (nécessité d'éliminer ce qui peut causer du tort, tout comme Platon a chassé Homère et Hésiode de sa République), etc. Mais les réflexions que Vivès propose sur l'éducation sont tout sauf une juxtaposition ou une simple reprise de lieux communs éculés. Vivès a beaucoup réfléchi sur l'éducation et la culture, il a lui-même une grande pratique de l'enseignement: s'appuyant sur ses prédécesseurs, il élabore une synthèse sereine et originale, dont le seul but est le bien du lecteur.

C'est ainsi que l'insistance de Vivès sur la nécessité d'expurger ou de censurer les auteurs immoraux ne doit pas tromper le lecteur contemporain, pour qui le terme 'censure' a une connotation presque uniquement négative. Comme toujours, il convient de replacer les choses dans leur contexte. Or, le contexte dans lequel évolue notre auteur est celui de l'humanisme chrétien, dans lequel la religion joue un rôle absolument essentiel. Pour Vivès, tout comme pour Erasme ou Budé, par exemple, le but de l'éducation, de la lecture, de toute la vie, en somme, est le développement harmonieux de la vie chrétienne. La conséquence est claire: tout ce qui risque de mettre en danger la foi du lecteur ou de le détourner du droit chemin doit être retranché avec décision. Ce principe posé, la plus ou moins grande sévérité dans la censure dépendra notamment de l'appréciation personnelle ou, si l'on veut, de la sensibilité de chaque humaniste, ainsi que du public auquel il s'adresse.

Que dire du public de notre auteur? Vivès est un pédagogue, au sens strict et au sens large: au sens strict, car il s'est beaucoup occupé de l'éducation des enfants, et au sens large, car il conçoit l'humanisme comme une pédagogie visant au développement intellectuel et spirituel harmonieux de l'être humain. Or, cette étude sur la tension entre paganisme et christianisme nous fait découvrir en Vivès un pédagogue partisan d'une éducation

différenciée et inspirée par le bon sens. Bon sens: puisque de toute façon on ne peut pas tout lire, autant choisir ce qu'il y a de meilleur et qui ne risque pas de mettre en danger la santé morale des enfants ou des adultes — et lorsqu'il s'agit de protéger l'âme des enfants, on n'est jamais trop prudent. Education différenciée: à la question: qu'est-ce que le meilleur pour l'enfant? Vivès répond: ayez une bonne connaissance de vos élèves et vous saurez ce qui leur convient; certains enfants pourront lire des textes desquels il vaudra mieux tenir d'autres à l'écart. Quant aux adultes, plus mûrs que les enfants, ils pourront lire des ouvrages qu'on ne conseillera pas aux plus jeunes, tout en restant prudents, toutefois, car il serait naïf de penser que les adultes sont à l'abri de tout danger.

Comment Vivès apprécie-t-il la moralité des œuvres antiques? Lorsqu'il s'agit de 'censurer', il n'est jamais crispé ou inquisiteur, et il faut bien reconnaître qu'ils sont peu nombreux, en fin de compte, les textes ou les auteurs qu'il laisse totalement de côté; le lecteur du Valencien a même parfois le sentiment que l'affirmation d'une certaine supériorité de la poésie chrétienne est chez lui presque anecdotique. Vivès est en fait un ardent défenseur de la culture classique dont il exalte la richesse, l'utilité et la beauté, faisant notamment une très belle analyse des mécanismes de la poésie (il est d'ailleurs intéressant de noter qu'il semble louer la poésie pour elle-même, pour sa beauté, sans éprouver la moindre nécessité de justifier sa lecture par la présence de semences de théologie dans les vers des païens). Il encourage adolescents et adultes à puiser à pleine main dans les trésors des classiques, indispensables à qui veut acquérir une formation rhétorique, scientifique, théologique, etc., digne de ce nom. Ils veilleront seulement à ne pas retourner contre eux les plumes arrachées à l'aigle majestueux... Vivès est lui-même un exemple de cette intégration réussie de l'héritage antique dans la culture chrétienne.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> Cf. Jozef IJsewijn, 'Vives e la poesia', in Id., *Humanisme i literatura neollatina. Escrits seleccionats*, ed. Josep Lluís Barona, Col·lecció Honoris Causa, 12 (Valence: Universitat, 1996), pp. 157-167.

Gilbert TOURNOY

## PETRUS NANNIUS AND NICOLAUS OLAHUS<sup>1</sup>

This contribution will deal with the links between the Louvain professor Petrus Nannius (1496-1557) and the Hungarian, or rather Transylvanian, humanist and diplomat Nicolaus Olahus (1493-1568). The latter's father being of Rumanian origin and his place of birth being Sibiu in Transylvania (or Nagyszeben, or Hermannstadt) a city now in Rumania, it is quite understandable that Rumanian scholars consider Nicolaus Olahus to be one of their own. The title of a book by Ștefan Bezdechi, for instance, reads: *Nicolaus Olahus, primul umanist de origine română* (Aninoasa: Ram, 1939); and an article by Corneliu Albu, proudly boasted<sup>2</sup>: "L'humaniste Nicolaus Olahus est un illustre fils du peuple roumain". On the other hand it is equally true that Olahus lived as a youth at the court in Buda and that he died as primate of Hungary and chancellor of the realm. Hence Hungarian scholars tend to claim him for their national literary history. András Zoltán, for instance, wrote at the beginning of the first chapter of his recent book on Olahus's *Athila*: "Oláh Miklós... magyar humanista", and Olahus is also present in the concise *Companion to the History of the Neo-Latin Studies in Hungary*.<sup>3</sup> It is not my intention to reopen this discussion here, but to focus on the period of Olahus's 'exile' in the Low Countries, more precisely during the years 1535-1538. In that period Nicolaus Olahus was acting as secretary and councillor to Queen Mary of Hungary, who had been appointed as regent of the Netherlands by her brother Charles V after the death of her aunt

<sup>1</sup> This is a slightly revised version of the paper presented on Monday 7 August at the XIIIth International Association for Neo-Latin Studies (Budapest, 6-12 August 2006). My most hearty thanks go to my colleagues and friends Monique Mund-Dopchie, D. Sacré, G. Hugo Tucker and R. Truman for their useful suggestions and corrections.

<sup>2</sup> Corneliu Albu, 'Réminiscences ovidiennes dans l'oeuvre poétique de l'humaniste Nicolaus Olahus', in *Acta Conventus Omnium Gentium Ovidianis Studiis Fovendis*, eds. N. Barbu – E. Dobroiu – M. Nasta (Bucarest, 1976), pp. 65-70 (p. 65).

<sup>3</sup> András Zoltán, *Oláh Miklós Athila című munkájának XVI. századi lengyel és fehérorosz fordítása* (Nyíregyháza, 2004), p. 11; István Bartók (ed.), *Companion to the History of the Neo-Latin Studies in Hungary* (Budapest: Universitas Publishing House, 2005), pp. 19-20.

Margaret of Austria on the night of 30 November – 1 December 1530. Almost immediately upon his arrival in the Netherlands in May 1531, Olahus entered into contact with some members of the Louvain *Collegium Trilingue*, and especially with the professor of Latin, Erasmus's good friend Conrad Goclenius, as well as with the professor of Greek, Rutger Rescius (c.1497-1545). From 1529 onwards, when Dirk Martens left Louvain, Rescius combined his professorial role with activity as a printer there.

It was only a few years later that Nannius came into the picture. He had been rector of the Latin school in his native town of Alkmaar until 1535, when he had had to close it down because of continuing hostilities in the Low Countries. In that year he moved to Louvain, supporting himself by giving private lessons and helping Goclenius. Precisely at that moment Olahus was looking for a new tutor for the young John Henckel, the nephew of his friend and former Court preacher of Mary of Hungary, who was also called John Henckel (ca. 1481-1531). Because Rescius was not able to meet that tutorial need, the young student had been entrusted since September 1534 to the care of William Lapidanus, a native of Wervik in South West Flanders (b. 1506/7).<sup>4</sup> A few months before, on 7 June 1534, this Benedictine monk had addressed a letter to Olahus and offered him his recently published work *De non timenda morte*, thus trying to ingratiate himself with Olahus.<sup>5</sup> By the end of that same year 1534, however, Lapidanus had to return to his abbey at Bergues - St. Winoc. From there he wrote to Olahus in order to secure for himself a promotion with his letter of 6 January 1534 (o.s. = 1535 n.s.), but in vain, which probably induced him only a few months later to say farewell to his abbey and to the Catholic faith altogether.

<sup>4</sup> On Lapidanus see now the thesis presented under my direction by Demmy Verbeke: *Guilhelmi Lapidani De non timenda morte. Editie en commentaar voorafgegaan door een biografie van de auteur* (unpublished thesis, Leuven 2001). The results of this research will be used in several publications by D. Verbeke, e.g. 'Als een hond naar zijn braaksel teruggekeerd? Guilhelmus Lapidanus, humanist uit Wervik', *De Franse Nederlanden — Les Pays-Bas français*, 30 (2004), 174-189.

<sup>5</sup> H. de Vocht, *History of the Foundation and the Rise of the Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense 1517-1550*, *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 10-13, 4 vols (Louvain, 1950-1955), III, 114 and 118-19 [= HCT]. The three extant letters addressed by Lapidanus to Olahus were published by Arnold Ipolyi (ed.), *Oláh Miklós... Levelezése* (Budapest, 1875), pp. 509-11, 522-223 and 439-441 [= OE]. Strangely enough, in his presentation of the events De Vocht blindly followed the dating of the letters in Ipolyi's edition, not taking into account the fact that Lapidanus obviously used the Easter style instead of the New Year style for his letter of 6 January 1534 (= 1535), just as Rescius did for instance in his letter of 7 January 1532 (=1533) to Olahus (OE, p. 188).

When Lapidanus left Louvain, a solution for the tutoring of young John Henckel had to be found quickly. Fortunately at that precise moment Petrus Nannius was available. From that period onwards there started his friendship with Olahus, which is well documented by the twenty-three letters published or summarized by Amédée Polet in his book *Une gloire de l'humanisme belge: Petrus Nannius 1500-1557*, Humanistica Lovaniensia, 5 (Louvain, 1936), pp. 243-278.<sup>6</sup> The majority of these letters had been published more than a century ago by Arnold Ipolyi on the basis of Olahus's famous *Codex epistolaris*, now kept in the National Archives (Magyar Országos Levéltár) at Budapest, *P. 108 Rep. 71, 472k, fasc. 23*, which contains Olahus's correspondence between 1526 and 1538.<sup>7</sup> In 1974 they were translated into Rumanian along with other letters exchanged between Olahus and other Flemish scholars and diplomats.<sup>8</sup> In addition, the edition by Ipolyi has proved to be extremely useful in mapping the intellectual and political networks all over Europe and especially in the Netherlands. Nevertheless, I should like to suggest here that one of the priorities of Hungarian Neo-Latin scholarship should be to replace this edition as soon as possible, its many flaws in transcription, especially of geographical names, and its complete lack of explanatory notes tending to be frustrating or misleading for the reader.<sup>9</sup>

Moreover, some letters addressed by Nannius to Olahus, i.e. the very first ones, were neither printed in Ipolyi's edition nor in Albu's Rumanian translation. They were included in Nannius's second work published in Louvain, an oration treating the theme of the war against the Turks, dedicated to Olahus with a prefatory letter dated 29 December 1535. This dedicatory

<sup>6</sup> The same Belgian scholar also published (pp. 78-82) the poems composed by Nannius in commemoration of Erasmus's death and printed by Rutger Rescius. On Nannius, see further J. IJsewijn, 'Petrus Nannius and Achilles Statius', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 43 (1994), 288-94; D. Sacré, 'Nannius's *Somnia*', in R. de Smet (ed.), *La satire humaniste. Actes du colloque international des 31 mars, 1er et 2 avril 1993*, Travaux de l'Institut Interuniversitaire pour l'étude de la Renaissance et de l'Humanisme, 11 (Louvain: Peeters, 1994), pp. 77-93; Id., 'Plutarchs *Camma* bei Petrus Nannius', in L. van der Stockt (ed.), *Plutarchea Lovaniensia. A Miscellany of Essays on Plutarch*, *Studia Hellenistica*, 32 (Louvain: Peeters, 1996), pp. 243-56.

<sup>7</sup> The codex has been described recently by Cristina Neagu, *Servant of the Renaissance. The Poetry and Prose of Nicolaus Olahus* (Oxford – Bern – Berlin, etc.: P. Lang, 2003), pp. 285-289.

<sup>8</sup> Nicolaus Olahus, *Correspondență cu umaniști Batavi și flamanzi*, ed. Corneliu Albu, trad. Maria Capoiianu (București, 1974).

<sup>9</sup> Apart from the *Codex epistolaris*, which certainly remains the richest source in this respect, numerous other manuscripts (and editions) also contain letters written by or addressed to Olahus. See Neagu, *Servant*, pp. 171-180.

letter is followed by Olahus's reply written the following day, where he urges Nannius to publish the work and offers some suggestions, as well as by a new letter of Nannius dated the last day of 1535.<sup>10</sup>

Another opportunity to secure Olahus's favour came when the news of Erasmus's death reached the Low Countries, most probably at the end of July 1536, eliciting a wealth of funeral verse.<sup>11</sup> At that time Olahus obviously was extremely occupied by his official duties and was at first not inclined to write something to commemorate his deceased friend. However, when on 10 September the Imperial councillor Francis Cranevelt sent Olahus two elegies for Erasmus requesting him to correct them, Olahus sent in his turn a few days later an long elegy of eighty lines and three epitaphs. On 24 September the Antwerp town-clerk Cornelius Graphaeus (ca. 1482-1558) dispatched to Olahus no less than six epitaphs. Olahus himself redoubled his own efforts and composed another epitaph, in Greek this time, after urging his friend and fellow-poet at the Court, Francis of Burgundy, Lord of Fallais, also to participate in the commemoration of Erasmus's death. He had copies made of all these poems and sent them out to his friends, asking for their honest opinion and their corrections. Nothing happened for more than three months, since Olahus was of the opinion that his own pieces should remain a private matter and not be made public<sup>12</sup>: "Non putabat enim ea, quae intra domesticos suos parietes ageret, in vulgum prodire debere."

<sup>10</sup> Polet, *Nannius*, pp. 243-247. It should be noted that Polet erroneously refers to Ipolyi's edition ("OE, 565") for the first of these letters. On this page 565 a letter is published which was dispatched by Rutger Rescius to Olahus on 31 January 1535, clearly indicating the intended order of the three letters preceding Nannius's *Declamatio*: 1) Nannius's letter to Olahus; 2) Olahus's reply; 3) the second letter by Nannius. It is also noteworthy that Neagu's presentation of the events (pp. 44-45) needs some revision, partly due to the fact that she follows the Rumanian translation rather than Polet and the original *Codex epistolaris*. A few examples: on p. 44, n. 52, she states: "The letters document the period between 16 January 1536 and 20 August 1538", exactly as in the Rumanian translation (see the index on pp. 347-48), whilst according to Polet the letters document the period between 29 December 1535 and 22 August 1538. She furthermore calls, on p. 45, Nannius's letter of 16 January 1536 "the first of the series"; it is indeed the first letter of Nannius published in the Rumanian translation, but the first letter in Polet is dated 29 December 1535. On p. 267, n. 7 and pp. 268-69, n. 9 she also follows Albu's erroneous dating of Nannius's letter of "12 calendae Decembres" to Olahus as 18 instead of 20 November.

<sup>11</sup> See, for a detailed account of these events, Ladislaus Juhász, 'De carminibus Nicolai Olahi in mortem Erasmi scriptis', in *Gedenkschrift zum 400. Todestage des Erasmus von Rotterdam*. Herausgegeben von der Historischen und Antiquarischen Gesellschaft zu Basel (Basel, 1936), pp. 316-325; H. de Vocht, *HCT* III, 403-415.

<sup>12</sup> See the letter by James Jespersen introducing the *D. Erasmi Roterodami epitaphia, per Clarissimos aliquot viros conscripta* (Louvain: Rescius, 1537), fol. A.i.v°.

However, Olahus's Danish secretary, James Jespersen of Aarhus<sup>13</sup>, played an important role in convincing his master that the poetical work of all these eminent scholars did not deserve to get lost. But obviously Jespersen had tried to exaggerate his own role in the process, so that the original letter introducing the edition of these poems in March 1537 had to be somewhat altered before publication.

More decisive was the intervention of Petrus Nannius, who in the first days of March paid a visit to his Brussels friends, and on his return to Louvain handed over the entire collection of poems on the death of Erasmus (these including some of his own) to the printer Rutger Rescius. Nannius was entrusted with the final correction of Olahus's texts, and with the oversight of the entire printing process, the choice of the (small) format and the type-face in agreement with Olahus's wishes. The printer worked extremely fast, so that Nannius was able to write to Olahus on the 10<sup>th</sup> of March that his poems would reach him the following day, hot from press: "Carmina tua recens impressa ad te cras redibunt, umida quodammodo adhuc a prelo, quasi a partu".<sup>14</sup>

In that same letter one encounters the very first mention of a prose work by Olahus, entitled here *Topographia Hungariae*. At this point it is unclear if Nannius, and others with him, distinguished between Olahus's two most important prose works, the *Athila* and *Hungaria*. They indeed do constitute two panels of one picture, the *Hungaria* being the first detailed geographical description of the kingdom of Hungary at that time, designed to serve as an introduction to the *Athila*, in which the early history of the nation is treated.<sup>15</sup> Nannius had obviously been given the

<sup>13</sup> On Jespersen, see now Pernille Harsting, 'Jacobus Jasparsus (fl. 1529-1549): "Homerulus noster Danicus"', in Ann Moss et al. (eds.), *Acta Conventus Neolatini Hafniensis. Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress for Neo-Latin Studies. Copenhagen 12 August to 17 August 1991*, Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 120 (Binghamton, NY 1994), pp. 465-476; Ead., 'Four Autograph Poems by Jacobus Jasparsus Danus (fl. 1529-1549) Discovered in the Vatican Library', *Analecta Romana Instituti Danici*, 27 (2001), 151-160; M. de Schepper, 'Jacobus Jasparsus' *Genealogia filiorum Nicolai Everardi* (1549). Facsimile met inleidende aantekeningen', in *Liber amicorum Raphaël de Smedt. IV. Litterarum historia*, ed. A. Tourneux, *Miscellanea Neerlandica*, 26 (Louvain: Peeters, 2001), pp. 99-122.

<sup>14</sup> *OE*, pp. 597-598. On 11 March indeed Rescius dispatched a hundred copies of to Olahus: *OE*, pp. 598-599. A copy of this rare publication is held in Brussels, Bibliotheca Regia, II.19067 A/2 (R.P.).

<sup>15</sup> A critical edition of both works was published by C. Eperjessy - L. Juhász (eds.), *Nicolaus Olahus, Hungaria - Athila*, Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medii Recentisquae Aevorum. Saeculum XVI (Budapest, 1938); for a general review of their contents and relationship, and for a modern bibliography, see Neagu, *Servant*, pp. 200-223.



opportunity to read a sample during his stay at Brussels, and now urges Olahus to continue in the same way.

Reading this one cannot but wonder why this work was not mentioned earlier in Olahus's correspondence. It seems indeed that it had been finished almost a year before, if we can give credit to the autograph inscription in the Vienna codex of the *Hungaria*, transcribed under Olahus's supervision. Indeed, this note, in the left upper corner of the first folio, mentions that this work was written at Brussels on 16 May 1536:

Haec scripta a me fuere / Bruxellis 16 Maij anno / 1536, dum essem  
Serenissimae / Reginae Mariae viduae / Divi Ludovici Regis /  
Hungariae, sororis vero / Caroli et Ferdinandi / Imperatorum a Secretis  
et / Consiliis./

This note is intriguing for several reasons. It was written on the same page as the introductory poem to the reader, obviously many years after the completion of the work. As far as I can see the only possible inference is that at that date the entire work, including the poem, had been completed. One question remains: how was it possible for Olahus to remember so exactly not only the year but also the month and the day? Was the date recorded in his autograph manuscript apparently now lost? Still more puzzling is the question why even Olahus's closest friends were not aware of the existence of these works until almost a year later, whilst one might be inclined to assume that Olahus proceeded here in the same way as he did in the case of Erasmus's epitaphs, his normal practice being to share immediately the products of his pen with his friends, asking for their comments and corrections? Evidently this was not the case. At the end of April 1537 Francis Cranevelt wished he had the opportunity to travel to Brussels and see the *Hungaria*, but he was not able to read the *Hungaria* (and with it the *Athila*) until Olahus sent them to him at the end of September 1537. He read them in great haste, returning them four days later, with the explicit request that such a work should not remain hidden any longer among Olahus's personal papers.<sup>16</sup> One of the reasons why Cranevelt had to wait so long was most probably that Olahus had first sent a copy of both works to Louvain. In his letter to Olahus of 1 June 1537 Conrad Goclenius states that he has read with great enjoyment the *Athila* and the *Chorographia Hungariae*, and that Nannius even wanted to read them twice. At the end of that same month Nannius complained, however, that Goclenius had allowed him to have the *Athila* for

<sup>16</sup> *OE*, pp. 605-606.

one week only; in this complaint he is also probably including the *Hungaria*, since a few lines later he mentions that he has read the books ("libros") most eagerly. A few months later, in his letters of 16(?) and 20 November, and again of 4 December 1537, Nannius urgently asks to see the manuscript of the *Athila* again; he is eager for it to be published and has convinced Rescius to give absolute priority to bringing it out. In the end he did manage to read Olahus's *Athila* again, and to discuss it with Goclenius, as he stated in his letter of 6 January 1538.<sup>17</sup> However, he failed in his efforts to persuade Olahus to have his prose works published.

He was equally unsuccessful in another matter, which until now has not received great attention, namely, his efforts to publish the series of epitaphs written on the occasion of the untimely death of Olahus's younger brother Matthaeus, barely aged thirty-three.<sup>18</sup> All in all, this collection is quite similar to the small volume for Erasmus printed in 1537 under Nannius's supervision and discussed above. It has neither been dealt with in the *History of the Collegium Trilingue* nor in Polet's study of Nannius. The reason is obvious. Although Henry de Vocht knew all about the *Codex epistolaris* (and a look at his personal copy of the 1875 edition<sup>19</sup> makes clear that he inspected and partly collated the manuscript currently kept in the National Archives at Budapest), nonetheless, neither he nor Polet was aware of the existence, or rather of the importance, of the large manuscript of 235 folios, containing the bulk of Olahus's poetry, held in the University Library at Budapest (MS. H-46). Henry de Vocht must have known of it, since he had in his possession a copy of Olahus's *Carmina* published in 1934<sup>20</sup>, but nothing in the indeed very succinct description of the manuscript's contents in that edition aroused his special interest.

<sup>17</sup> *OE*, pp. 608-616. There is a small problem with the letter dated "decimo calendas Decembres" (22 November), since it clearly was written before the one dated "12 calendas Decembres" (20 November). Polet, *Nannius*, p. 259, proposes with good reason the reading "16 calendas Decembres" instead of "10 calendas Decembres".

<sup>18</sup> According to l. 3 of Isembert's poem: "ter undenos vix transegerat annos." According to Nicolaus Grudius's poem Matthaeus did not even reach his thirtieth birthday: "Nec bis terna fuit cernere lustra mihi."

<sup>19</sup> Currently held in the University Library of Leuven, sign. 4A8360. His library did not contain the *Analecta recentiora ad historiam renascentium in Hungaria litterarum spectantia*..., ed S. Hegedüs (Budapest, 1906), which offered not only a first edition of Olahus's poems but also, on pp. 417-419, an overview of all the components of the second fascicle of cod. H. 46.

<sup>20</sup> Nicolaus Olahus, *Carmina*, edd. I. Fögel – L. Juhász, copy now at the University Library Leuven, sign. 4A8359.

More recently Neagu has provided a detailed study of the manuscript, including its dating, features, contents, hands, script and corrector (pp. 271-285). I limit myself here to the second of the 13 fascicles, covering the folio's 31r-43v, which bears its own title:

Elegiae et Epitaphia in mortem / Clarissimi Viri Matthaei Olahi,  
Praefecti, sive Iudicis Regij oppidi / Zazwaras in Transsylvania /  
Pannoniae, mortui 4. Junij. Anno /1·5·3·6· per Nicolaum eius fratrem,  
/ et alios Clarissimos viros conscripta./

This title is followed by an inscription in a later hand of the second half of the sixteenth century, stating that this fascicle was the property of the Library of the Jesuit College in Trnava: "Bibliothecae Collegii Tirnaviensis Societatis Jesu".<sup>21</sup> There then follows the name of Levinus Panagathus<sup>22</sup> also, and a chronogram:

MatthaeVs geLIdae reCVbans OLahVs In Vrna  
VIVit, et In CaeLo regna beata CoLIit.

In her study Neagu has put forward the hypothesis that Panagathus was possibly "the name of the scribe of this collection". She also indicated that the chronogram gives an incorrect date (1535 instead of 1536), unless the second "i" of the word "vivit" is also capitalized.<sup>23</sup> The evidence for this indication is the sum of the numerals made at the bottom of the page and the triple underlining of the "i" in "Vivit" added in pencil in the manuscript.<sup>24</sup> As for the assumption that Panagathus was the scribe of this collection, here Neagu may be mistaken, for more than one reason. First, in the manuscript the name "Livinus" has been corrected to "Levinus", and it seems highly improbable that the scribe would have misspelt his own name, and that he made another mistake in the chronogram. Furthermore, Panagathus clearly appears here as the author of the chronogram. It should be remembered in this context that in two other

<sup>21</sup> The same formula, featuring underneath the title, is also to be found on the title-page of the first fascicle, whilst in the seventeenth century another hand wrote above the title: "Collegii Tirnaviensis Societatis Jesu 1650".

<sup>22</sup> Levinus Panagathus or Lieven Algoet of Ghent (ca. 1500-1547), a former *famulus* of Erasmus, was, from 1531 onwards, appointed by Nicolaus Olahus as his secretary. See P.G. Bietenholz – T.B. Deutscher, *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, 3 vols (Toronto – Buffalo – London, 1985-87), I, 35-36.

<sup>23</sup> Neagu, *Servant*, p. 341.

<sup>24</sup> Strangely enough, two other chronograms at the end of this same second fascicle (f.43v), composed by Adolphus Briardus, also seem to point at the same date 1535, even if we take into account the copyist's errors in not capitalizing another "i" in the first word of the first one, and the "l" appearing in the first word of the second one.

instances he showed the same predilection for this literary form: a chronogram of his had been printed in the 1537 edition of the *D. Erasmi Roterdami epitaphia, per Clarissimos aliquot viros conscripta* (fol. B.ii.<sup>v</sup>); and three other chronograms, one in Latin, one in French and another in Dutch, on the death of the Empress Isabella of Portugal, Charles V's spouse (†1539), were printed at Antwerp in 1548.<sup>25</sup>

Neagu has also stated more than once that Olahus's brother Matthaeus died shortly after Erasmus<sup>26</sup>, even though the precise date of Matthaeus's death (4 June) is indicated in the title of the second fascicle of this manuscript (printed twice in her book: p. 49, n. 73 and again on p. 341).

Nonetheless, it is not improbable that the news of Erasmus' death reached the Netherlands sooner than that of Matthaeus, and in any case its impact on the political and intellectual world of that time was considerably bigger. Whilst Erasmus's death led to an abundance of epitaphs and elegies, a fair number of which were published within a few months, that of Matthaeus at first does not seem to have attracted any attention in the literary world at large.

Nevertheless, the majority of Olahus's closest friends who contributed to the 1537 volume of Erasmus's epitaphs did also supply material for a similar volume in honour of Matthaeus: Petrus Nannius, Francis Cranevelt, James Jespersen, Francis of Burgundy. Along with these pieces there is one by the Antwerp town-clerk Cornelius Graphaeus, who had also sent to Olahus, on 24 September 1536, six poems on Erasmus which for some obscure reason Nannius was not able to get hold of;<sup>27</sup> there were further poems by the Emperor's secretaries Adrianus Viellius and Nicolaus Grudius (1503/4-1570/1), by Daniel Mauch (1504-1567), secretary to George of Austria, by the schoolteacher at Belle (Bailleul) and Boeschepe Livinus Crucius (ca. 1585-ca. 1555), by canon Isembert of St. Omer, chaplain to Queen Mary, by Laurentius Sellirius, secretary to Christina of Denmark, duchess of Milan, and finally two chronograms by Adolphus

<sup>25</sup> Copy at Ghent, University Library, G.7451. See A. Roersch, 'Liévin Algoet, humaniste et géographe', *Le Musée Belge*, 26 (1922), 127-143 (pp. 139-140); reprinted in A. Roersch, *L'humanisme belge à l'époque de la Renaissance*, II (Louvain, 1933), 11-31: 'Au service d'Erasmus et de l'Empereur: Liévin Algoet'. Roersch transcribed Panagathus's chronogram for Erasmus from the *Catalogi duo operum D. Erasmi Roterdami...* (Antwerp 1537), fol. A.1<sup>v</sup>. In the second line, however, he inadvertently changed the original "In sepVLChro" into "In tVmVLo", which puts the date of Erasmus's death in 1441!

<sup>26</sup> Neagu, *Servant*, p. 130, p. 370.

<sup>27</sup> *OE*, pp. 586-588 (letter of 24 September by Cornelius Graphaeus), and pp. 597-598 (letter of 10 March 1537 by Nannius).

Briardus, maybe a relative of Lambert de Briarde, president of the Grand Council of Mechlin since 1532.

Thus, all in all, the number of participants in this collection mourning Matthaëus's death more than doubled, but strangely enough hardly a trace of this entire enterprise is to be found in Olahus's own correspondence (or rather in what the author selected for preservation). As we have seen, this collection of letters proved to be one of the most important sources to document the genesis and publication of the *Erasmi epitaphia*. On the other hand, there is only one single passage which can be connected with this enterprise, and which almost certainly has a bearing on one of the poems Olahus himself composed to commemorate his brother's death. At the end of his letter of 1 April 1538 Nannius informed Olahus that he had enjoyed his poem very much, and that he had proposed a few improvements, not because any corrections were needed, but simply because he did not want to look like a mere flatterer.

A plausible hypothesis is that the poem in question is Olahus's *In mortem Matthaëi fratris elegia*. From the rest of the passage it can be inferred that Nannius also knew of the other related poems Olahus had written<sup>28</sup>:

Carmen tuum miris modis placuit; miror vim ingenii, quae plane, ut ait Horatius, rerum immersibilis undis inter maximos luctus et curas vivacissime se exerit, et ut olor in morte dulcius canit, ita tibi in acerbissimo funere dulcissima et elegantissima carmina contexuntur. Nos paucissima annotavimus, magis ne adulescentes videremur, quam quod censura ulla opus esset.

As for the lack of other indications in Olahus's correspondence, this may be explained by the loss of some letters and by the fact that a considerable number of the contributors normally stayed at the Court with Olahus.

At any rate, the introductory letter by Nannius, which bears no date but most probably is to be ascribed to the first half of 1539<sup>29</sup>, possibly even after Olahus left the Netherlands for good, clearly reveals the genesis of the booklet. Nannius's commitment and involvement were even more prominent than in the case of the epitaphs for Erasmus. He received all the compositions from Olahus himself, and for a number of reasons felt obliged to see them through the press. He was so confident that Olahus

<sup>28</sup> *OE*, p. 616.

<sup>29</sup> Since introductory letters are usually composed after the completion of the entire volume, it seems reasonable to assume that it was written after the other letter by Nannius appearing in this booklet dated 9 February 1539.

would approve of his initiative that he took them to the printer even before he had received Olahus's formal consent. What exactly then happened is unclear. Did Nannius have second thoughts and ask for permission? If so, did Olahus not agree, driven by his well-known reluctance to bring his private affairs into the public domain<sup>30</sup>, the more so as his own brother was involved? Or was Olahus taken up at that time with other more important affairs, being on the verge of leaving the Netherlands for good? At any rate there is no evidence to suggest that the booklet ever went into print, the *Codex carminum* remaining the only source (though mostly a forgotten one) for this collection of poems.

It is time to conclude. The links between Petrus Nannius and Nicolaus Olahus started relatively late after Olahus had settled in the Low Countries. The main reason for this was of course that it was only in 1535 that Nannius returned to Louvain. However, from that moment onwards it developed very quickly into a close friendship, which was not hindered by Nannius's modest fortune or Olahus's high rank, so much so that already at the end of that same year 1535 Nannius offered one of his works to Olahus. Beyond that, he read and corrected Olahus's poems, and persuaded him to have the collection of epitaphs for Erasmus printed. Nannius was not able, however, to talk Olahus into publishing his two most important prose works, the *Attila* and the *Hungaria*. Nor did he persuade Olahus to bring out the collection of poems written in commemoration of his younger brother, Matthaeus. Be that as it may, he tried to remain in contact with Olahus even after he had left the Low Countries, and dedicated to him his rendering of Demosthenes, *De Immunitate adversus Leptinem*, emphasizing in his prefatory letter the immense difficulties he had encountered in translating Demosthenes and the precious help and encouragement he had received from Olahus.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> See above, n. 12.

<sup>31</sup> Polet, *Nannius*, pp. 277-278.

### Appendix

In this appendix the second fascicle of the MS H-46 of the University Library of Budapest, covering the ff. 31<sup>r</sup> - 43<sup>v</sup>, will be published in its entirety. It contains twenty-nine pieces related to the commemoration of Nicolaus Olahus's brother Matthaeus.

Since the texts seem to have been copied under the close supervision of the author himself, who moreover carefully checked the complete fascicle, I have respected the orthography, but silently expanded the standard paleographical abbreviations. Punctuation and the use of capital letters have been adapted to modern practice; a long j is always given as i, and I have systematically distinguished between the vowel u and the consonant v. As regards the diphthongs ae and oe the copyist seems to have used indiscriminately two different ligatures. Thus in the word "Caesareae" (f. 41<sup>r</sup>) he used the ligature for oe in the first diphthong, and that for ae in the second; "Matthaeus" with the ligature for oe on f. 32<sup>v</sup>, 34<sup>v</sup>, etc., but that for ae on f. 31<sup>r</sup>, 33<sup>v</sup>, 35<sup>r</sup>, 36<sup>r</sup>, etc.; "Mariae" with the ligature for ae on f. 42<sup>r</sup>, but with that for oe on f. 37<sup>r</sup> and 42<sup>r</sup>; "Caesaris" with the ligature for oe on f. 34<sup>r</sup>; "foetido" (f. 40<sup>v</sup>) and "foedera" (f. 41<sup>r</sup>) with the ligature for ae, etc. For the sake of consistency and readability, I have decided to adopt classical orthography for these words.

In the Greek poems accents and spirituses that sometimes were absent are added and put on the second vowel in diphthongs.

The twenty-nine pieces are numbered with Roman numerals, put between square brackets.

The following sigla will be used throughout the apparatus criticus:

- **B** = University Library Budapest, MS H-46;
- **C** = M.-J. Desmet-Goethals, *Levinus Crucius en zijn Threnodia (1548). Bijdrage tot de studie van het humanisme in de Nederlanden*, Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België. Klasse der letteren, Jg. 47, Nr. 116 (Brussel, 1985);
- **F** = Nicolaus Olahus, *Carmina*, eds I. Főgel – L. Juhász (Lipsiae, 1934);
- **H** = *Analecta recentiora ad historiam renascentium in Hungariae litterarum spectantia...*, ed S. Hegedüs (Budapest, 1906);
- **N** = Cristina Neagu, *Servant of the Renaissance. The Poetry and Prose of Nicolaus Olahus* (Oxford – Bern – Berlin, etc.: P. Lang, 2003).

A few poems, especially those composed by Olahus himself, have already been published:

- no. I: **N**, p. 341;
- no. III: **F**, p. 41; **H**, p. 417;
- no. IV: **F**, pp. 38-40; **H**, pp. 419-21; **N**, pp. 342-3;
- no. V: **F**, p. 40; **H**, p. 421; **N**, p. 344;
- no. VI: **F**, pp. 40-1; **H**, pp. 421-2; **N**, pp. 344-5;
- no. XI: **F**, p. 42;
- no. XII: **F**, pp. 42-3;
- no. XX: **C**, pp. 101-2.

A full-scale commentary, including the historical circumstances, the classical sources or the identification of the authors has not been possible at this moment.

Elegiae et epitaphia in mortem / f. 31<sup>r</sup>  
 Clarissimi Viri Matthaei Olahi, /  
 Praefecti, sive Iudicis Regii oppidi /  
 Zazwaras in Transsylvania /  
 Pannoniae, mortui 4. Iunii. Anno /  
 1·5·3·6· per Nicolaum eius fratrem, /  
 et alios Clarissimos viros conscripta./

[I] Levinus Panagathus

MatthaeVs geLlida reCVbans OLahVs In Vrna  
 VIVit, et In CaeLo regna beata CoLIt. /

[III] Petrus Nannius Candido Lectori Salutem

f. 31<sup>v</sup>

Cum nuper doctissimus, et doctissimorum hominum amantissimus Dominus Nicolaus Olahus Transsylvanus, Consiliarius et Secretarius Mariae Reginae Hungariae et Bohemiae, Albensis Thesaurarius, mortem Erasmi Roterodami non minus piis quam eruditis carminibus deflevisset, eandem ipsius pietatem in celebrandis manibus gravior causa rursus exercuit. Amisit enim charissimum fratrem Matthaeum, rebus annisque florente<m> et in quo magnum ipse et solatium et praesidium habebat. Iuvenis enim ex illustri ortus domo clarissimoque natus sanguine, nihil a maioribus suis degenerabat, manu promptus, consilio expeditus, animo praesens, omnia quae<vis> et belli et pacis, quibus a puero in tutelam ornamentumque patriae insueverat, prudentissime et fortissime exequabatur. Hoc igitur unico amisso, cum docti intelligerent quantum vulnus frater optimus et pientissimus accepisse<t>, certatim incubuerunt scribendis epitaphiis et consolator<iis> carminibus, quo vel eius luctus mitigarent, vel fratris obitum scriptis suis ornarent. Praecipue autem operam hac<sup>1</sup> in re aulici praestiterunt, viri non minus eruditione quam fortunis clari, et qui aulam non magis quam literas colunt.

Horum scripta cum Olahus, ut est mihi familiarissimus (non enim aut illius fastigio sublimi, aut meae fortunae humilitate, commercia nostra impediuntur) communicasset, visa est mihi multis de causis istorum scriptorum editio maturanda esse. Primum ne pietas tantorum virorum in obscuro lateret, qui non ut olim / poetae magnis praemiis ab Artemisia Regina invitati ad celebrandum Mausolum accesserunt, sed ultro amicitiae fide, officii sedulitate impulsu ad hanc scribendi provinciam convolarunt. Deinde ut iuventus agnosceret, quantopere si<bi> studia literarum amplectenda essent, quae tantum in aula florerent et a summis viris administratione rerum tum publicarum tum privatarum sedulo occupatis, et in usu et precio haberentur. De quorum virtutibus plura dicerem, nisi humiliorum

f. 32<sup>r</sup>

<sup>1</sup> hac: *correx*i ex hanc B.



laus non tam ex vero quam ex adulatione proficisci videretur. Id tamen non tacebo, ipsam Reginam Mariam Hungariae nulla alia lingua cum Domino meo Olaho nisi Latina colloqui solitam. Ex quo citra<sup>2</sup> assentationis suspitionem colligi potest, qualis princeps sit, docta nimirum bonarumque literarum et sapientiae sectatrix, tales quoque aulicos esse. Nam de vidua Henrici comitis a Nassou, quid<sup>3</sup> nunc attinet dicere, quae et ipsa Latinae Graecaeque linguae perstudiosa, pedissequas suas Latine discere suo exemplo adhortatur? Postremo, ut mos celebrandorum clarorum funerum, qui iam nonnihil increbrescit, usu maiore confirmaretur.

His ergo causis permotus, non censui ab Olahi modestia verecundiaque impetrandum esse, ut liceret edere; sed quasi iam impetratum esset, rem prelo subieci, fretus illius summa humanitate, quae omnia amici conata in optim<am> partem interpretari consuevit. Vale.

[III] Nicolaus Olahus et Franciscus a Burgundia ad lectorem

Nicolaus

Cantator fueram nuper qui mortis Erasmi,  
Iam chari<sup>4</sup> fratris funera maesta cano.

Franciscus

Ille potitus erat clarae praeconia famae,  
Quod studii<sup>5</sup> vindex praesidiumque fuit. /

Nicolaus

f. 32<sup>v</sup>

Huic fortuna vices belli servavit honestas,  
Par tamen ambobus gloria pacis erat.  
Qui quoniam vitam placidi<sup>6</sup> duxere beatam,  
Gloria nunc summi pascit utrosque Dei.

[IV] Nicolai Olahi Pannonii Transsylvani in mortem Matthaei fratris elegia

Flete<sup>7</sup>, precor, Musae, et vatis miserescite vestri  
Et, Charites, maestum concelebrate diem.

<sup>2</sup> citra *corr.* *Sacré ex circa B.*

<sup>3</sup> quid *corr.* *scriba ex quod B.*

<sup>4</sup> cari *F.*

<sup>5</sup> studii *corr.* *Olahus ex studui B.*

<sup>6</sup> placidis *F.*

<sup>7</sup> Tecta *H.*

- Tu quoque, qui gaudes laetis, citharoedus<sup>8</sup> Apollo,  
 Carminibus, nostram parce sonare lyram.  
 5 Et quaecumque<sup>9</sup> meis faustissima numina rebus  
 Favistis quondam, nunc procul este<sup>10</sup>, precor.  
 At tu sola tuos tristes, Elegia, capillos  
 Solve et me miseros<sup>11</sup> coge subire modos.  
 Nam magno crucior pressus sine fine dolore  
 10 Et mea languescens pectora torpor habet.  
 Occidit o animae fato pars altera nostrae,  
 Altera, quae superest, victa dolore iacet.  
 Siccine vos hominum iuvenilia corda, sorores  
 Laniferae, iustam scinditis ante diem?  
 15 Quae tanta a superis vobis concessa potestas,  
 Ut liceat valida cuncta necare manu?  
 Haec ego sed lachrymis<sup>12</sup> tacita dum mente revolve,  
 Irascor gravibus iam levis ipse diis.  
 Omnibus est etenim miseris mortalibus aequae  
 20 Obvia mors atra et stat sua cuique dies,  
 Quam nec opes Croesi<sup>13</sup> possunt superare superbae  
 Nec regum<sup>14</sup> fortes Herculeaeque manus.  
 Haec rapit ad tumulos infanciam<sup>15</sup> corpora tristes<sup>16</sup> /  
 Et matres querulas semper amara facit.  
 25 Surripit et pueros nequicquam aetate virentes  
 Tartareosque atrox cogit adire lacus.  
 Florida cum primum nobis advenerit aetas,  
 Mox Stygiae Lethes imminet usque timor.  
 Despiciat hanc etiam frustra generosa iuventus,  
 30 Quum vitam sperat vivere Nestoream.  
 Tempora dum nostras subeunt complentia vires,  
 Atropos abruptit mox sua pensa colo.  
 Iam lentis graditur pedibus quum curva senectus,  
 Morte quid invis<sup>17</sup> certius esse potest?  
 35 Nil igitur tutum est miseris aetatibus usquam  
 Nec quicquam firmi vita caduca tenet.  
 O durum nimium, nunquam et placabile fatum,  
 Cur vitae cumulas tempora dura meae?  
 Nonne satis fuerat socios iugulasse paternos

f. 33<sup>r</sup><sup>8</sup> citharaedus N.<sup>9</sup> quaecumque H.<sup>10</sup> esse H.<sup>11</sup> miseris H.<sup>12</sup> lachrimis F.<sup>13</sup> Craesi N.<sup>14</sup> regum FH: regam BN.<sup>15</sup> infanciam FH.<sup>16</sup> Etates hominum: in mg. sinistro add. B.<sup>17</sup> innisa H.

- 40       Atque inferre meis maxima ubique mala,  
 Et charam<sup>18</sup> gravibus patriam vexare periclis  
       Hostilique simul vertere cuncta manu?  
 Quin etiam proprias foedares<sup>19</sup> funere sedes  
       Eriperesque mea lumina chara<sup>20</sup> domo?  
 45   Tristia sed quoniam possunt non fata levare,  
       Cur vana petimus numina dura prece?  
       Non esset Priami sedes, si vota valerent,  
       Diruta, sed staret regia celsa senis;  
       Nec Paridis caesum manibus defleret Achillem  
 50   Diva suis Nymphis concomitata Tethys<sup>21</sup>.  
 Sed<sup>22</sup>, quia non possunt flecti mala fata precando,  
       At maneant gemitus haec pia signa mei,  
       Flete igitur, socii, maestumque levate sodalem  
       Structaque iam lachrymis<sup>23</sup> spargite busta piis. /  
 55   Ferali tumultum fratris cumulate cupresso  
       Et duro lapidi talia verba date:  
       "Hoc ego qui iaceo quondam Matthaeus in antro,  
       Olahus, rector, praeses et urbis eram.  
       Maiorum genuit me Transalpinia tellus  
 60   Stemmata praeclaro, ast<sup>24</sup> hic velut hospes eram.  
       Dum fratris reditus miro producor amore,  
       Interea vitam mors rapit atra meam.  
       At te non pigeat properantem dicere: 'Salve  
       Aeternumque vale, molliter atque cuba'."

f. 33<sup>v</sup>[V]       Idem in diem obitus fratris hendecasyllabum<sup>25</sup>

- O lux maesta mihi meis maligna  
 Rebus, nonne pudet tuas patentes  
 Fauces et lue pestilente rictus  
 In me vertere propriosque amicos?  
 5   Ut primum patrium solum focosque  
       Saevis adficeres malis dolosque  
       Vafros insidiasque necteres, et  
       Nunc hos, nunc alios meos propinquos  
       In cladem sineres abominandam,

<sup>18</sup> caram F.<sup>19</sup> faedares N.<sup>20</sup> cara F.<sup>21</sup> Tethys BHN: Tethis F.<sup>22</sup> Sed in *mg. sinistro pro verbo Et linea subducto add. B.*<sup>23</sup> lachrymis F.<sup>24</sup> at H.

- 10 Heu, crudele nefas, agi rapique,  
 Postremo misero meo sodali  
 Et fratri mihi maxime fideli  
 Vitam surriperes licet caducam,  
 Hinc duris cruciatibus meorum  
 15 Vexares animum et meam quietem  
 Turbares lachrymis<sup>26</sup> perennibus. Sed,  
 O lux atra mihi, meis maligna  
 Rebus, iam, precor, abstine severis,  
 Heu, a morsibus anxiiisque damnis. /

[VI] Idem in praesens seculum  
 ode dicolos distrophos<sup>27</sup>

f. 34<sup>r</sup>

- Quod unquam erat, quod seculum<sup>28</sup> nocentius?  
 Quae dira pestilentior  
 Erat lues? quae poena<sup>29</sup> saevior Stygis  
 Domusque Ditis impii  
 5 Te seculo<sup>30</sup> hoc nephario<sup>31</sup>? quod est genus  
 Te nunc veneni dirius?  
 Quis Colchidos virus, precor, veneficae  
 Aut Herculis poenas<sup>32</sup> truces  
 Crudelius quondam putaverit? quod aut  
 10 Erinys<sup>33</sup> aut Megaera tam  
 Crudele bellum in intimis praecordiis  
 Mortalium conserverit,  
 Quam tu, scelestum seculum atque perfidum  
 Et vocibus dignum malis?  
 15 Hinc Italos, heu, obruit eques impius  
 Fines, pias vastans domus.  
 Hinc Thurcicae gentis ferox crudelitas  
 Nos Pannonos, o, dirutos  
 Et viribus fractos nimis iam pristinis  
 20 Exterminat propter ducum  
 Et principum discordiam, Christi fidem  
 Sanctissimam colentium.

<sup>25</sup> hendecasyllabum *om.* F.

<sup>26</sup> lachrimis F.

<sup>27</sup> ode dicolos distrophos *om.* F.

<sup>28</sup> saeculum H.

<sup>29</sup> paena N.

<sup>30</sup> saeculo H.

<sup>31</sup> nefario FH.

<sup>32</sup> paenas N.

<sup>33</sup> Erinyes F.

- Hinc hostium classes utrorumque aequora  
 Vexant maris praedonibus  
 25 Plenae; medullis virus hinc haeret latens  
 Nostris; iniqua dogmata  
 Mores iniquos imbuunt et impios.  
 Nostras ob haec respublicas,  
 Heu, dissipant bellum, fames et odium. /  
 30 Iam charitas<sup>34</sup> refrixit et f. 34<sup>v</sup>  
 Regnis in omnibus latens discordia  
 Adfert bonis periculum.  
 Sanctam quietem surripit, tollit, necat  
 Hoc seculum tam perditum.  
 35 Sed quo rapit me nunc animus Olympicus?  
 Cur me potius haud defleo?  
 Matthaëus unicus periit frater meus  
 Aetate vivens florida.  
 Partim dolor me retinet, partim quoque  
 40 Laetor, quod evitaverit  
 Hoc perfido et nefario nunc seculo<sup>35</sup>  
 Mores suos corrumpere.

[VII] Franciscus Craneveldius, utriusque  
 iuris Doctor, Caesaris Caroli Consiliarius

- 10 Nunc tristes elegos nobis dictate, Camenae, et  
 Funera Pieriis spargite muneribus.  
 Ad manes propere rapitur<sup>36</sup> Matthaëus Olahus,  
 Quo nemo in terris clarior ullus erat<sup>37</sup>  
 5 Sarmata, sed qualem vix ullum moribus aedat  
 Gallia, quae Ausoniam se superare putat.  
 Stemmata quem longo deducentem ordine, primum  
 Virtutis palmam, commeruisse palam est.  
 Desinite hunc lugere, probi, iam desine, frater  
 10 Immersus lachrymis, candide Olahe, piis,  
 Speratis dudum potitur portuque domoque  
 Sublimisque hominum despicit exilium.

[VIII] Idem

Οὐ θάνεν ὠκυπέτης ἀνδρῶν Ματθαῖος Ὀλᾶος  
 Ἀλλὰ θεῶν κεῖτ' ἐν γούνασιν ἀμφίβιος.

<sup>34</sup> caritas F.

<sup>35</sup> saeculo H.

<sup>36</sup> rapitur corr. *Sacré ex rapitus* B.

<sup>37</sup> ullus erat Olahus in mg. dextro add. *pro verbis esse solet linea subductis* B.

[IX] Non periit caelo invecus Matthaëus Olahus, f. 35<sup>r</sup>  
 Amphibius divum sed sedet in genibus.

[X] Franciscus a Burgundia

Ne sis nescius, o viator, adsis,  
 Et gradum propius moveto. Queres:  
 'Quid vis me tumuli videre manes?'  
 Rescies! Columen requiris artis  
 5 Militaris, et unicum salutis  
 Nostrae Pannoniae decus? Quiescit.  
 Disciplina iacet domi forisque.  
 Aut res graviter aut decore agendi,  
 Morum regula, censor et Catone  
 10 Metioque severior magisque  
 Acer, undique comitate mixta.  
 Dum gnavus studet omnium quieti,  
 Non laboribus uspiam pepercit  
 Suis; nunc ferias cupitque agitque.  
 15 Dum terrae gremio latus reponit,  
 Et laboribus et molestiis, et  
 Malis perpetuo satis superque  
 Fractum, nunc fruitur sopore lassus,  
 Et nunc artibus optimis refudit  
 20 Chaos, quae simul hac teguntur urna.  
 Fortem flere virum abstineto, quaeso.  
 Mori est vivere, laude<sup>38</sup> quum perenni  
 Dies clauditur. Heus, vale viator!  
 Matthaëus bene fabulam peregit  
 25 Olahus. Bene plaudite et valete.

[XI] Idem inducens Matthaëum alloquentem f. 35<sup>v</sup>  
 Nicolaum fratrem. Ode dicolos distrophos /

Quid conquerar? quid defleam? cur<sup>39</sup> lugeam?  
 Funeris iste mei praesens adest nunc terminus.  
 Migrare quum Deus volet, nos expedit  
 Omnibus una manus; proterva mors et invida  
 5 Imponit arbitrioque vivimus suo.  
 Ah, sine te moriar? hic me dolor prae caeteris  
 Iam leti imaginem velut conduplicans

<sup>38</sup> laude *corr.* *Sacrè ex laudem B.*

<sup>39</sup> quid *F.*

- Angit et excruciat, nam tu mihi solatia<sup>40</sup>  
 Benigna candido profecta pectore  
 10 Et dare verba potes, priva salute gratior,  
 Germane, caeterisque amicis charior<sup>41</sup>,  
 Materiamque simul, qua mi foret necessitas  
 Ut<sup>42</sup> illa lethi<sup>43</sup> lex acerba et perfida  
 Gratior et gravibus valentius starem malis.  
 15 Animo meo dum consulendo fers opem,  
 Corpore distrahimur praesentiamque me tui  
 Excupere, quid prementis ad mortis malum  
 Hoc faciet? poteritne fati inexorabile  
 Numen reflecti? Dum loquor, me spiritus  
 20 Deficit atque labat angustiis nunc languidis  
 Luctata animula; mens sui obliviscitur  
 Herculeusque vigor stipendiis exercitus  
 Sensim relinquit corda membraque tabida  
 Pannonioque solo virtus mea haud ignobilis  
 25 Oblivionem querit<sup>44</sup> et caliginem  
 Et celebrata licet se nunc sepulchro praeparat.  
 Dum bella parturit cruenta barbarus  
 Hostibus innumeris et Thurcico pavet grege  
 Patrium solum gravi ruens tyrannide.  
 30 Quin potius moriar, ne tanta damna conspicer! /  
 Ast, quae cruore saepe commaduit meo, f. 36<sup>r</sup>  
 Me bene grata teget ac viscere occulet suo  
 Tot pellibus, tot hostium periculis  
 Emeritum redimens, velut pio me pignore  
 35 Mortalium brevis caducaque sors rotat  
 Et variis agitur malis modisque pessimis.  
 Nunc tempus est ut ultimum tibi vale,  
 Frater amate, loquar, cursu tibi nunc lampada  
 Tradens, ut exemplo meo viaticum  
 40 — Nam tibi quaeque dies putanda certe est ultima —,  
 Pares colasque me perenni memoria  
 Ossave vel cineres, quum restitutus patriae  
 Postliminio redux penates viseris,  
 Ne lachrymis<sup>45</sup> violes. Mors me vocat. Sequor. Vale.

<sup>40</sup> solacia F.

<sup>41</sup> carior F.

<sup>42</sup> Ut *correx* ex Ft B; Et F.

<sup>43</sup> leti F.

<sup>44</sup> quaerit F.

<sup>45</sup> lachrimis F.

- [XII] Nicolaus Olahus eodem carminis genere  
respondet fratri Matthaeo morienti

Non est, quod aerumnas fleas, frater, tuas,  
Nam nihil orbis habet, fato quod haud obtemperet.  
Manu tenemur caelica, nutu Dei  
Spiritus iste tuus pulchro vigit in corpore.  
5 Is dum volet, moriendum erit mox omnibus.  
Huius enim arbitrio vivunt caduntque singula.  
“Nolles mori”, inquis, “quam prius me cerneres?”  
Non minus ipse etiam, germane frater, gratior  
Rebusque charior<sup>46</sup> per orbem caeteris,  
10 Cernere te cuperem coramque colloqui<sup>47</sup> ac tua  
Lumina manu, frater, mea, suavissime,  
Comprimere et lachrymis<sup>48</sup> suprema verba dicere  
Corpusque mortuum solo recondere.  
Sed tibi surripuit Bellona<sup>49</sup> me saevissima /  
15 Infesta nobis et paternis sedibus. f. 36<sup>v</sup>  
Non igitur licitum est duris caput periculis  
Me nunc meum committere atque credere.  
Non tamen iste timor votis resisteret meis,  
Verum fides in principem iustissimam  
20 Cogit et assiduis me submonens hortatibus  
Persuadet, ut navem meam contraria  
Littora<sup>50</sup> ad alterius non debeam traducere  
Et pristinam fidam iam iam relinquere.  
Impia tu miseris, o, servitus mortalibus,  
25 Quid non iubes facere et subire et perpeti?  
Heu, violare soles omnem necessitudinem  
Et sanguinis compaginem tu distrahis,  
Suavia amicitiae turbans piae commercia.  
Ius et nefas<sup>51</sup> obtemperat legi tuae.  
30 Omnia contaminas mortalium negocia<sup>52</sup>.  
Non fletibus fraterna nunc me pectora  
Contumulare sinis nec floribus conspergere.  
Frater sed, heus, frater mihi charissime<sup>53</sup>,  
Desine iam gravibus diutius luctarier  
35 Pugnis perefficacibusque da locum,

<sup>46</sup> carior F.

<sup>47</sup> colloquia F.

<sup>48</sup> lachrimis F.

<sup>49</sup> Bellona F; Pellona B.

<sup>50</sup> Litora F.

<sup>51</sup> nefas F.

<sup>52</sup> negotia F.

<sup>53</sup> carissime F.



- Obsecro, numinibus. Deus supremus, qui regit  
 Semperque rexit spiritus Olympicos  
 Aethereisque sedet pius potensque in sedibus,  
 Adesse te cupit, tuam praesentiam  
 40 Appetit atque animam caelestibus coniungere.  
 Illuc vocatum, frater o suavissime,  
 Te properare decet citosque gressus tendere.  
 At non amor mei severis luctibus  
 Ulterius stimulet mentem tuam iam plus satis /  
 45 Malis gravatam maximisque fletibus, f. 37<sup>r</sup>  
 Quam precor, aethereo reddas choro, unde prodiit.  
 Ego<sup>54</sup> interim tuis lubens hortatibus  
 Et gravibus monitis, quousque spiritum traham,  
 Semper parebo, semper et putabitur  
 50 Ultima quaeque dies, vitare quam nemo queat.

[XIII] Reverendo Domino Nicolao Olaho, Thesaurario Albensi, Archidiacono Strigoniensi, Serenissimi Ferdinandi Romanorum Regis etc. ac Mariae Reginae a Secretis et Consiliis, Petrus Nannius Salutem Dat.

Acerbissimos tuos luctus de amicissimo fratre non lachrymis tantummodo, sed gravi aegritudine animi prosequor, et ex laboribus adversae valetudinis, qua nunc affligor, nihil tam triste sentio, quam cruciatus istius maeroris. Et ut libenter studium consolandi prae me ferrem (tametsi tua sapientia et animi fortitudo istiusmodi adminiculis non egeat), ita ipse vix inven<io> quo maesticiam meam commitigem. Quamobrem, ut in te consolando nonnihil ipse acquiescerem, carmen hoc elegiacum super consolatione fraternae mortis, quod ad te mitto, condidi, quaecumque ab animo ita misere afflicto exprimere potui.

- Nunc utinam Pyliae data sit mihi gratia linguae,  
 Aut quae Dulichio flumine verba cadunt,  
 Aut quo Cecropidas<sup>55</sup> concussit Olympius ore,  
 Cui tonitru in verbis et grave fulmen erat.  
 5 Nil etenim nostro molimur carmine parvum,  
 Aut cui plebeium sufficit ingenium. /  
 Magnus enim in magno solandus funere Olahus, f. 37<sup>v</sup>  
 Cui fraterno obitu fletibus ora madent.  
 Ille quidem infestae fortunae vulnera multa  
 10 Sed tamen invicto pectore sustinuit.  
 Nunc iacet in lachrymis, nunc luctu absumptus amaro  
 Vincitur, et fratrem nocte dieque gemit.  
 Nec mirum, si non solito mens robore fulta  
 Se sinit in fletum maestitiamque trahi.

<sup>54</sup> Ergo F.

<sup>55</sup> Cecropidas: *scriba* cro s.l. add. B.

- 15 Causa nimis iusta est: orbatus lumine frater  
 Esse sui fratris lumina sicca vetat.  
 Unicus ille fuit praeclaro sanguine natus  
 Atque ducum illustri stemmate clarus erat.  
 Cui proavi reges ad Transalpinia sceptrā  
 Iura dabant, generi debita sceptrā tuo.  
 20 Has inter causas multum querimonia crescit,  
 Quod iuvenis primo flore recisus obit,  
 Quodque etiam peregre, non inter brachia fratris,  
 Languescente anima decubuit moriens.  
 25 Sed quid agas? nulli fas est protendere fila,  
 Quae Lachesis saevo pollice dura secat.  
 Imo nec ante diem quisquam se funere mergi  
 (Sit licet in cunis) dicere iure potest.  
 Quae fuit ad vitam lux prima, novissima saepe est,  
 30 Lucinaeque horam Parca citata subit.  
 Natalesque dies eadem praevertitur, alvus  
 Non satis a Letho pignora tuta gerit.  
 Qui nondum vixit, nec luminis attigit usum,  
 Occidit ante ortus is quoque saepe suos.  
 35 In lucro est, donumque merum quam viximus horam,  
 Lanifica in tempus ius habet omne Dea. /  
 Quare quod frater non primis occidit annis,  
 Inter dona Dei commemorare decet. f. 38<sup>r</sup>  
 Ast tibi quod peregre vita decessit ab ista,  
 40 Parserunt oculis ultima fata tuis.  
 Ille tuis lachrymis, tuque illius immaduisses,  
 Torsisset geminus pectus utrumque dolor.  
 Molliter ille perit, qui non cruciatur amici  
 Fletibus, expertus nil nisi fata sua.  
 45 Si fortuna velit quo coepit tendere cursu,  
 Et maneat rebus saeva noverca tuis,  
 Materies iam facta minor qua saeviat illa,  
 Ledere quae gemina te ratione solet.  
 Nam modo sorte tua, fratris modo sorte premebat,  
 50 Et duplici tragula vulnera saeva dabat.  
 Nunc ille in tuto caelesti sede receptus,  
 Ex alto ridet vimque minasque Deae.  
 Teque potest solum sophiae munimine tectum  
 Sed tantum invalidis ictibus impetere.

De tuo<sup>56</sup> Athila et Hungariae descriptione quid sentiam, iam saepius literis meis testatus sum. Cuius me iudicii nunquam paenitebit, nisi quod malignius videor et nimis parce rei laudatissimae laudes impertiisse. Olim carmine testabimur quantus mihi videre. Plura scriberem, sed doloribus morbi huius ita excrucior,

<sup>56</sup> tuo *corr. scribe ex tua B.*

ut vix compos menti<s> sim.  
 Vale, unicum praesidium meum.  
 Lovanii, nona Februar<ii> Anno M.D.XXXIX.

[XIV] Reverendo Domino Nostro Olaho Pannonio etc.  
 Cornelius Grapheus Scribonius Salutem Plurimam Dat

Maestus, Olahe, tuum lachrymoso carmine fratrem  
 Quid ploras? luctus siste, age, amice, graves.  
 Vivit enim, certe vivit, mihi credito, quanquam /  
 Ad tempus tantum se hinc tulit alta petens.  
 5 Namque ut Tyndarides, duo lucida sydera fratres,  
 Alternas obeunt conficiuntque vices,  
 Sic ille aethereo clarum iam sydus Olympo  
 Fulget; tu vero haec infera regna colis.  
 Tu Pollux novus, ille novus claro aethere Castor;  
 10 Tu Pollucis obis, Castoris ille vices.  
 Et quamvis multum nunc sis divisus ab illo,  
 Sitque abs te immenso dissitus ille loco,  
 Tempus erit tamen, ut rursus, sufferto parumper,  
 Illum alacris videas, te ille alacris videat.

f. 38<sup>v</sup>

[XV] Adrianus Vielius Secretarius Caroli Caesaris

Omnia confuso quum cernitis ordine rerum  
 In peius ruere, dic mihi, quid facitis?  
 Tollitis insigni claros virtute patronos,  
 Stamina longa malis, stamina pauca bonis  
 5 Nectitis, et rerum vobis discretio nulla est,  
 Praecipueque piis insidias struitis.  
 Quae perversa colus? quae fila? quis, obsecro, tandem  
 Vestri finis erit imperii, Lachesis?  
 Dic mihi, Matthaëum cur surripuistis Olahum?  
 10 Annos dignus erat vivere Nestoreos.  
 Omnibus ex aequo charus, facilisque patronus,  
 Candidus et verbis, candidus atque animo,  
 Publica cum summa gessit qui munia laude,  
 Consilio prudens, dexter et ingenio.  
 15 Invida si in talem saevistis fata parentem,  
 Pignoribus saltem parcite, quaeso, suis,  
 Quae veluti plantas moriens pater ipse reliquit  
 Sparsuras patriae semina pulchra suae. /

## [XVI] Idem ad viatorem

f. 39<sup>r</sup>

Siste gradum. Praeses iacet hac et consul in urna,  
 Matthaëus, patriae culmen honorque suae.  
 Cum superis laetus placida iam pace quiescit,  
 Virtutis nactus praemia digna suae.

[XVII] Daniel Mauchius Secretarius Reverendissimi Domini  
Georgii Archiepiscopi Valentini

Matthaëus iacet hic quondam vir magnus Olahus,  
 Atque huius primus qui fuit urbis homo.  
 Sanguine praeclaro genitus nunc maestus ademptum  
 Hunc luget frater; spiritus astra petit.

## [XVIII] Iacobus Danus Arrhusiensis

Ἀνέρος εὐγενέος κάγαθοῦ ὅττι πλέον ἐστὶν  
 Ἐνθάδε Ματθαίου ὁστέα χθὼν μὲν ἔχει·  
 Τῆς κατὰ δὲ ψυχὴν ἔχει ἄβροτον οὐρανὸς εὐρύς·  
 Ἄβροτος ἦν γὰρ πρὶν ἦδε κ' ἄθανάτη.  
 Ἦλυτεν ἐκ γε θεοῦ πρότερον κτίσαντος ἐκείνην  
 Τοῦ κατὰ ἐκτίσθη εἰκόνα (θαῦμα ἰδεῖν).  
 Βούλετο γοῦν αὖθις πρὸς ἐκεῖνον νυνὶ ἀπεῖναι,  
 Ἐξ οὗ τὴν προτέρην ἑξοδὸν εἶχε πάλαι.  
 Σῶμά γὰρ ἐκ γαίας ἐλελήχει θνητὸν ἐόνπερ,  
 οὐκοῦν τῇ αὐτῇ ταῦτ' ὀδὸν δέδωκε βροτόν.  
 Ἔστε δ' ἄθλοθέτης ἥξει ἐπὶ τέρμα χρόνιοι,  
 Πᾶσι διαβρῆδην, μισθὸν ἐκάστου ἔχων.  
 Ἀμφοτέρω ζεύξων δεσμῷ ἐνὶ ἁρβραγεῖ αἰέν  
 Ἴσα χαρήσονται ὥς τότε δαιμονίως.

## [XIX] Versum per Franciscum Craneveldium

f. 39<sup>v</sup>

Nobilis herois Matthaëi, o lector, Olahi  
 Reliquias tellus ossa sepulta tenet.  
 Immortalem animam Deus in sua tecta reponit,  
 Evulsam a mortis nexibus atque manu.  
 5 Illa Creatoris nutu fabricata benigno  
 Prodiit et summi vivit imago Dei.  
 (Res miranda quidem) sursum properabat abire  
 Nacta semel promptam ad caelica lustra viam.  
 Corpus humo sortita fuit mortale caducum,  
 10 Restituit iuste flebile corpus humo.

At vivet, quondam qui ingentes condidit orbeis,  
 Et dabit appensis premia pro meritis.  
 Utraque iuncturus adamantina vincula stringet,  
 Reddat ut aequata gaudia lance Deus.

[XX] Livinus Crucius Enomius  
 Iambicum Dimetrum<sup>57</sup>

Hoc conditus saxo cubat  
 Matthaëus ille nobilis,  
 Olahus ille nobilis,  
 Non fabuloso stemmate,  
 5 Non pegmatis sublimibus,  
 Non aurea aut<sup>58</sup> eburnea  
 Tumba, vel alte pensili  
 Mausoleo summo aere  
 Inter columnas saxeas,  
 10 Non literis e regiis,  
 Sed sanguine et natalibus  
 Clarus, sed artibus bonis,  
 Sed moribus praestantibus,  
 Illustris<sup>59</sup> heros, oppidi  
 15 Praeses, locorum plurium  
 Possessor insignitior, /  
 Plerisque nunc summatibus  
 Qui splendidis superbiunt  
 Necnon superbis splendent  
 20 Maiorum imaginibus, fuit  
 Hic omnibus praelustrior,  
 Ceu Cynthia emicantior  
 Inter minora sydera.  
 Ergo, senatus provide,  
 25 Civis sagax, ignobile  
 Vulgus, Deae Parnasidos,  
 Musae sacratae Phocidos,  
 Plorate. Nam flere est pium  
 Tam nobile, tam floridum,  
 30 Tamque eruditum praesidem  
 Et tam potentem, liberis  
 Tam divitem praedulcibus,  
 Fatis ademptum perfidis.  
 Sed heus, ad unum plaudite,

f. 40<sup>r</sup>

<sup>57</sup> dimetron C.

<sup>58</sup> aut C, ad B.

<sup>59</sup> Illustris C, Illustri B.

- 35 Gaudete rursus maxime  
 Tantum virum quam plurimis  
 Raptum malis, incommodis,  
 Tumultibus, tyrannidi  
 Gentis ferocis Turcicae
- 40 Bellis cruentis omnia  
 Vastantis, et freudentibus  
 Apris Iesu vineam  
 Qui demoliti increduli,  
 Quorum (malum) pars maxima
- 45 Saevit locis nunc omnibus.  
 Nos spes alit vel optima  
 summo Deo convivere  
 hunc praeditum tot dotibus,  
 Olahum herum tam nobilem.
- 50 In morte<sup>60</sup> vivit, fidimus; /  
 Abscissus hic vir pululat,  
 Consumptus augetur polo,  
 Victurus aeternum Deo.  
 Cui<sup>61</sup> piis praecordiis,
- 55 Optemus o concorditer,  
 Ut stola amictus candida  
 Agnum sequatur candidum,  
 Quocumque pergat caelicis  
 letis beatus sedibus.

f. 40<sup>v</sup>

[XXI] Franciscus a Burgundia inducit Matthaeum Olahum  
 de se loquentem

- Nunc me restituit mihi,  
 Tandem mors bona me restituit mihi.  
 Multis eximit illa me  
 Et magnis subito liberat optima
- 5 Damnus, perpetuis malis,  
 Erumnis miseris. Nam veluti mare  
 Tempestatibus horridum  
 Nobis vita manet, nescia quae boni,  
 Semper pessima concupit.
- 10 Mors nobis statuens ad mala comitem,  
 (Quae mortalibus aggerit,  
 Cunctis orbis iners) materiam simul  
 Omnem dissipat ac rapit,  
 Damnosi sceleris nescia, nam viae

<sup>60</sup> morte C, more B.

<sup>61</sup> Qui C.

- 15 Humanae insidias parat  
 (Terrae perpetuo corpora destinans),  
 Imo rite dolos bonos,  
 Queis mortale genus carcere foetido  
 Et caeco eximat e<sup>62</sup> malo.  
 20 Mundi delitias, et gravia undique,  
 An non vincula discutit /  
 Foedi corporis atque illecebras malas f. 41<sup>r</sup>  
 Terrae visceribus tegit?  
 O mors, quae requiem suppeditas mihi,  
 25 Tu communia gentibus  
 Cunctis scepra tenens, foedera paria  
 Partiris parili modo.  
 Tu magnos pariter, tu minimos teris,  
 Aequas tu quoque fortibus  
 30 Imbelles, populos atque duces fere  
 Una suppeditas via,  
 Longaevosque senes et iuvenes feros,  
 Nulli parcere conscia.  
 Tu me, mors bona, nunc restituis mihi,  
 35 Caeli portio redditur.  
 Ex tantis tenebris lucida sydera  
 Nunc vitae incolo particeps.  
 Nec me Pannoniae dulcis amor tenet,  
 Aut desiderium meae  
 40 Gentis, quod caream fratre, recurrere  
 Tantum cura perennior  
 Nusquam desinit. Ast tu tamen hoc tibi  
 Semper, frater, habe. Vale.

[XXII] Nicolaus Nicolai Grudius, Caesareae  
 Maiestatis Consiliarius et Secretarius

- Marmore sub tristi Matthaeus claudor Olahus,  
 Urbs quo Zazwaros praeside tuta fuit.  
 Virtutem cuius venerata est Pannonis ora,  
 Et sectata suum civica turba ducem.  
 5 Me tamen haud virtus clarorum aut nomina avorum  
 Trans Alpes Valacho stemmate ducta iuvant.  
 Nam quem non potuit prosternere barbarus ensis,  
 In fera quum tocies proelia signa tuli, /  
 Nunc iaceo lenta consumptus morte, viator, f. 41<sup>v</sup>

<sup>62</sup> e malo *correx*i ex et malo **B**.

- 10       Nec bis terna fuit cernere lustra mihi.  
 Invidit dea crudelis felicibus orsis  
       Atropos; hinc vitam dissecat ante diem.  
 Quod potuit fecit, merita sed invida famae  
       Obruitur nullis gloria marmoribus.

[XXIII] Franciscus a Burgundia,  
 Carmen Galliambicum

- Properas, viator? Heus, siste gradum, memor animo  
 Mea dicta colligens, nam brevibus me agere modis  
 Locus atque acerba vult mors, celeri pede properans.  
 Breve carmen hoc brevi marmore si legere voles,  
 5   Patriae solum scies. Pannonia est nemorivaga.  
 Genus aut parentibus clarave stemmata referam?  
 Satius tacere mi nunc fuerit. Spatia negat  
 Lapidis figura strictissima. Tum modica loqui  
 Pudor imperat. Iacebo tumulto umbra sita novo,  
 10   Nova gloria et decus militiae columen habens.  
 Patrii Lares Olahique domus propria diu  
 Memorabit inclyta encomia, dum iubare polis  
 Nitido micantibus sol sua lumina revehet.  
 Obiisse me iuvat, quando pericula satagunt  
 15   Populos meae diu Pannoniae fera nimium  
 Violare. Dura quis prelia bellaque memori  
 Referat stylo? Quis a barbaria metus aberit?  
 Populatur impius barbarus omnia, pavidos  
 Agitat ferus viros. Terra scatet mea lachrymis.  
 20   Recutita<sup>63</sup> brachia in nos fera spicula iaciunt,  
 Galeis minantibus perniciem struere parant.  
 Semel ut pium ruat Christicolarum ita amabile  
 Genus, ut cadat semel sancta fides, inamabili /  
 Strepitu tyrannidem Turcica gens agit. Inhians  
 25   Opibus scelestas, nunc omnia sanguine maculat.  
 Rapuit beata me mors miserum. Exitia videns  
 Perii, severa plus quam necis horrida rabies.  
 Requiem serena nunc fata dedere. Vale, parens,  
 Genitrixque terra. Corpus tibi linquere voluit  
 30   Deus. Omnia mea mecum fero. Pannonia, vale.

f. 42<sup>r</sup>

<sup>63</sup> Recucita B.



- [XXIV] Isembertus Canonicus Sancti Audomari,  
Sacellanus Serenissimae Mariae Reginae

Clauditur hoc saxo Matthaei corpus Olahi,  
Quem fera mors orbi sustulit ante diem.  
Namque ter undenos vixdum transegerat annos,  
Quum nobis adimunt invida fata virum.  
5 Fata virum nobis adimunt, quo rebus agendis  
Dexterio nemo candidiorve fuit.  
Neve genus taceam, claris heroibus ortos  
Maiores huius stemmate comperies.  
Religione Deum coluit sub legibus aequis,  
10 Tutari studuit credita cuncta sibi.  
Corpus habet marmor, caeli regione sed inter  
Ob patriam passos spiritus astra tenet.  
Nunc certa partum virtute est, fortis Olahe,  
Ut non intereant gloria, fama tibi.  
15 Letheos missis calices si sumat habenis  
Zazwaros, haud poterit non memor esse tui.

- [XXV] Laurentius Sellirius, illustrissimae Principis Dominae Christinae, Ducis  
Mediolani a Secretis

Aspice, mortalis, dubiae spectacula mortis,  
Fortiter ut possis spernere delicias. /  
Hic ego, quem duro conclusum marmore cernis, f. 42<sup>v</sup>  
Inter Pannonios gloria magna fui.  
5 Non mihi divicias, nec opes Fortuna negavit,  
Nonque animi dotes sydera celsa negent.  
At neque diviciae, nec<sup>64</sup> opes, nec nobile stemma  
Me potuit Parcis eripuisse feris.  
Scilicet exutum subito fallacibus armis,  
10 Haec me, quam spectas, nunc brevis urna capit,  
Corpus ubi incurvos pascit sine sanguine vermes  
Et redit in cinerem, quod fuit ante cinis.  
Sic mihi nil superest de tot modo rebus amatis,  
Praeter virtutis commoda multa piaae.  
15 Nam pietas, et clara fides, et vita modesta  
Corporis exuvias sunt comitata mei.  
Caetera fatales nobis rapuere sorores,  
Extemploque fugit spesque timorque levis.  
Cur igitur proavos, aut regia stemmata iactas,  
20 Heu nimium stulte, non memor ipse tui?  
Mortis enim vitaeque viae sunt omnibus aequae,

<sup>64</sup> nec: *corr. Olahus s.l. ex neque B.*

Vivit at aeternum mens bene culta viri.  
 Non pigeat tumidos<sup>65</sup> ergo deponere fastus,  
 Exemploque meo vincere fata stude.

[XXVI] Iacobi Dani ad Reverendum Dominum Nicolaum Olahum,  
 Thesaurarium Albensem, Archidiaconum Strigoniensem, etc.  
 Saphicum et Adonicum.

Caeteri tantum memores suorum  
 Vestibus pullis, habituque fusco,  
 — Isque perpaucis honor est diebus —,  
 Funera lugent. /

5 Hicque vulgato solitoque ritu  
 Mos valet falsis lachrymis, amore  
 Sed brevi, multi pia nil dolentes  
 Fata sequuntur.

f. 43<sup>r</sup>

Tu tui vero, pie Nicolae,  
 10 Invida fratris nece nunc adempti,  
 Laude sacratos cineres perenni  
 Tollis, Olahe.

Mille dum premis numeris bonorum,  
 Nunc boni fratris merita ac perenneis  
 15 Gloriae dotes, et acerba tanti  
 Funera damni.

Hanc tuo pompam feretrumque fratri  
 Instruis dignam meritis suaque  
 Stirpe, dum praeclara cohors virorum  
 20 Corpus obumbrat.

Pars modos tristeis recitat, melos pars  
 Dulce concinnat, elegos recantat  
 Sacra divini (pia dona vatū)  
 Marmora templi.

[XXVII] Epitaphium Clarissimi Viri Matthaei Olahi  
 per Adolphum Briardum

Funera si qua prius lachrymis meruere rigari,  
 Si qua prius nobis iusta querela fuit,

<sup>65</sup> tumidos: *correxī ex timidos* B.



Juan J. MARTOS

## LA EDICIÓN DE LOS FRAGMENTOS TRÁGICOS DE ENNIO DE MARTÍN DEL RÍO\*

Martín del Río<sup>1</sup> nació en Amberes en 1551 de padres españoles: jurista, filólogo y teólogo, inició sus estudios de derecho en París, los prosiguió en Douai y Lovaina y acabó doctorándose en Salamanca en 1574. Aunque inició carrera en la administración de los Países Bajos, pronto ingresó en la Compañía de Jesús, en Valladolid en 1580. A partir de ese momento impartió clases sucesivamente de filosofía en Douai, de casos en Lieja, Escrituras en Graz y exégesis en Salamanca. Murió en Lovaina en 1608. Mantuvo amistad con algunas de las figuras intelectuales más relevantes de su tiempo, especialmente con Justo Lipsio.<sup>2</sup> Niño prodigio, llegó a

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<sup>1</sup> Sobre su vida y obras véase Julio Caro Baroja, 'Martín del Río y sus *Disquisiciones mágicas*', en *El señor inquisidor y otras vidas por oficio* (Madrid: Alianza, 1997 [= 1968]), pp. 171-195; Edda Fischer, 'Die "Disquisitionum Magicarum libri sex" von Martin Delrio als gegenreformatorische Exempel-Quelle' (Tesis doctoral, Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität, Frankfurt am Main, 1975), pp. 5-13; Jesús Moya, *Martín del Río, S.J. La magia demoníaca: libro II de las "Disquisiciones mágicas"* (Madrid: Hiperión, 1991), pp. 9-45; Jacques Kluyskens, 'Del Río, Martin-Anton', en *Diccionario histórico de la Compañía de Jesús*, ed. Charles E. O'Neill, S. I. – Joaquín M.ª Domínguez, 6 vols (Madrid: Universidad Pontificia de Comillas, 2001), II, 1069, s.v. Sobre nuestro autor se escribieron biografías casi desde el momento mismo de su muerte: así H. Rosweydyus, que publicó un libro sobre su vida en Amberes en 1609 (*Antuerpiae: ex officina Plantiniana apud Ioannem Moretum*). Bibliografía sobre sus libros en Joseph L. Laurenti, 'Martín del Río, S. J. (1551-1608): Obras localizadas', *Anales de Literatura Española*, 5 (1986-1987), 231-247.

<sup>2</sup> Jacques Kluyskens, 'Justus Lipsius (1547-1606) and the Jesuits, with four unpublished letters', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 23 (1974), 244-270. Muestras de esta relación se pueden advertir en la frecuencia con la que Del Río se sirve de las conjeturas de Lipsio, que, como se verá, reconoce expresamente en los comentarios de su *Syntagma*. Véase, con todo, Werner Thomas, 'Martín Antonio Delrio and Justus Lipsius', en *The World of Justus Lipsius: A Contribution towards his Intellectual Biography*, ed. Marc Laureys (Bruselas – Roma: Belgisch Historisch Instituut te Rome, 1998), pp. 345-366.

dominar nueve lenguas antiguas y modernas; más asombro producen, sin embargo, los inmensos conocimientos sobre muy diferentes materias que refleja en sus obras.

Aunque publicó varios libros de muy variados contenidos y alguno ha merecido estudios y ediciones modernas<sup>3</sup>, casi todo lo que se ha escrito sobre nuestro autor se refiere a sus *Disquisitiones magicæ*<sup>4</sup>, obra de extraordinaria erudición y fundamental para el estudio de todos los fenómenos relacionados con la magia desde muy diversas perspectivas.<sup>5</sup> Existen, sin embargo, otros libros que, salvo alguna que otra mención, han quedado postergados: este es el caso en general de sus trabajos filológicos<sup>6</sup>, entre los que ocupa un lugar principal su *Syntagma Tragoediae Latinae*.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Como el *Commentarius rerum in Belgio gestarum*, publicado bajo pseudónimo (Rolandus Myrteus Onatinus) en Madrid en 1610 y Colonia en 1611, que ya había aparecido en español en Madrid en 1601; hubo una traducción al francés a cargo de Ad. Delvigne publicada en Bruselas en tres volúmenes entre 1869-1871 (cf. Fischer, 'Die "Disquisitionum Magicarum libri sex" von Martin Delrio', pp. 176-177; Moya, *Martín del Río*, p. 36) y existe una edición moderna: Martín Antonio del Río, *Die Chronik über Don Juan de Austria und den Krieg in den Niederlanden (1576-1578): La crónica sobre don Juan de Austria y la Guerra en los Países Bajos (1576-1579)*, eds. Miguel Ángel Echevarría Bacigalupe – Friedrich Edelmayr (München: Oldenbourg, 2003).

<sup>4</sup> Martinus Delrius, *Disquisitionum magicarum libri sex*, 3 vols (Lovanii: Gerardus Rivius, 1599), una edición a la que siguieron, en los siguientes ciento cincuenta años, otras veinticuatro en Alemania, Flandes, Francia e Italia; la última apareció en Colonia en 1755, véase Fischer, 'Die "Disquisitionum Magicarum libri sex" von Martin Delrio', pp. 153-175. Hubo, además, traducciones antiguas como la de André du Chesne, *Martin Del Rio: Les controuerses et recherches magiques*, 2 vols (París: Régnaud Chaudière, 1611). Además de traducciones parciales, al español del libro segundo — la de Moya —, al alemán del quinto — Petra Nagel, *Die Bedeutung der "Disquisitionum Magicarum libri sex" des Martin Delrio für das Verfahren der Hexenprozesse* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1995) — y al inglés de una selección — Peter G. Maxwell-Stuart, *Martin Del Rio: Investigations into Magic* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000) —, véanse Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo, *Historia de los heterodoxos españoles* (Madrid: BAC, 1978 [= 1945]), pp. 259-262 — ed. original de 1880-1882 —, André Schnyder, 'Der "Malleus maleficarum": Fragen und Beobachtungen zu seiner Druckgeschichte sowie zur Rezeption bei Bodin, Binsfeld und Delrio', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 74 (1992), 323-364, y sobre todo Fischer, *passim*.

<sup>5</sup> Incluye, además de la exposición sobre todo tipo de magia y adivinación, una completa recopilación del conocimiento de los clásicos y de los tratados de su época, instrucciones para confesores y tratamiento completo del tema desde el punto de vista jurídico, entre otros varios aspectos. Desde su aparición, este libro ha causado admiración por la cantidad de conocimientos vertidos en él, si bien, según reconocen todos los estudiosos a excepción de Menéndez Pelayo, adolece también de una credulidad y falta de crítica aún más sorprendente.

<sup>6</sup> Que incluyen, por ejemplo, una edición de Claudiano.

<sup>7</sup> Martinus Antonius Delrius S. I., *Syntagma tragoediae Latinae* (Antuerpiae: ex officina Plantiniana apud viduam et Ioannem Moretum, 1593). A propósito de esta obra cf. Maturin Dréano, *Humanisme chrétien. La tragédie latine commentée pour les chrétiens de*

Dividida en tres partes, consta en la primera de una introducción al género y a Séneca junto con una colección de fragmentos de autores arcaicos; en la segunda, de una edición de las tragedias de Séneca<sup>8</sup>; y en la tercera, de un comentario a estas últimas. La importancia del libro la atestiguan las numerosas veces que se ha continuado mencionando a Del Río, aún en la actualidad, para el establecimiento del texto de Séneca.

En esta recopilación de testimonios sobre la tragedia latina destaca, por supuesto, Ennio y, aunque su obra no tiene aquí, lógicamente, la trascendencia de la de Séneca, puesto que se trata únicamente de vestigios incompletos, vale la pena detenerse en esta edición, que, si bien no ha sido tan relevante como otras y conserva solo un interés relativo<sup>9</sup>, mereció figurar en otras publicaciones<sup>10</sup> y todavía se sigue citando en estudios más modernos.<sup>11</sup> Por otra parte, entre las contribuciones españolas a la

XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle par Martin Antoine Delrio (París: Beauchesne, 1936); Roland Mayer, 'Personata Stoa: Neostoicism and Senecan Tragedy', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 57 (1994), 151-74; Bernard Beugnot, 'Remarques sur le *Syntagma tragoediae latinae* (1593) de Martin del Río, S. J.', *Figura* (en prensa); agradezco, por otra parte, al profesor Beugnot que haya tenido la amabilidad de proporcionarme una copia de su trabajo antes de la publicación. También alude a la edición de tragedias de Séneca Julien-Eymard d'Angers, 'L'Humanisme chrétien de Martin-Antoine Delrio à S. François de Sales', *Études franciscaines*, 3 (1952), 145-157. Del *Syntagma* hubo por lo menos otra edición en París, 1619-1620.

<sup>8</sup> Quizá el autor clásico por el que más se interesó Del Río: ya antes había publicado unos *Adversaria* a sus tragedias que incluyó después corregidos en la segunda parte del *Syntagma*. Este, a su vez, atestigua la importancia que le concedía el jesuita a su obra dramática y que estaba de acuerdo con el uso que le daba la Compañía, puesto que se le leía continuamente en sus colegios; el propio Del Río lo atestigua en una carta a Lipsio en la que le asegura que Moreto podía confiar en vender bien su edición de Séneca, cf. Jozef IJsewijn – Dirk Sacré, *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies. Part II* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1998<sup>2</sup>), p. 142 y n. 4. Sobre la importancia del teatro de Séneca véase también Beugnot n. 7.

<sup>9</sup> Johannes Vahlen, *Ennianae poesis reliquiae. Iteratis curis recensuit J. V.* (Lipsiae: Teubner, 1928 [=1903]), p. CXXXII.

<sup>10</sup> Así en la reedición de Colonna que publicó Hessel: *Q. Enni poetae vetustissimi Fragmenta quae supersunt ab Hieron. Columna conquisita disposita et explicata ad Joannem filium. Nunc ad editionem Neapolitanam MDXC recusa accurante Francisco Hesselio, I.C. et in Ill. Roterod. Athenaeo Hist. et Eloq. Prof. Accedunt praeter Eruditorum Virorum emendationes undique conquisitas; M.A. Delrii opinationes, nec non G.J. Vossii castigationes et notae in Fragmenta Tragoediarum Ennii; ut et index omnium verborum Ennianorum* (Amstelaedami: Wetstenius, 1707). H. Columna (Girolamo Colonna) había publicado en 1585 en Nápoles *Anales* y las obras menores de Ennio; posteriormente, fue el hijo el que se ocupó de la edición de toda la obra, que apareció en la misma ciudad en 1590 y que habría de reeditar Hessel.

<sup>11</sup> Véase, por ejemplo, Lucianus Müller, *Q. Enni carminum reliquiae. Accedunt Cn. Naevi belli Poenici quae supersunt* (Petropoli: C. Ricker, 1884), e.g. p. 123; Henry David Jocelyn, *The Tragedies of Ennius* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969 [=1967]), e.g. pp. 274-275; E. H. Warmington, *Remains of Old Latin*, 4 vols (Cambridge, Mass. –

investigación sobre Ennio, prácticamente solo se puede mencionar antes del siglo XX<sup>12</sup> al padre Del Río y a Antonio Agustín<sup>13</sup> (1517-1586), y la edición de este último, como es bien conocido, quedó inédita.

Antes de abordar el trabajo del jesuita español, hay que tener en cuenta la historia del texto<sup>14</sup>: en la época en la que se redactó<sup>15</sup>, además de anotaciones y enmiendas concretas en obras de crítica textual, habían aparecido ya las ediciones de los Estienne<sup>16</sup> y la de Colonna<sup>17</sup>; además, aunque no tuvieran trascendencia directa sobre nuestra materia, estarían escritos los manuscritos de Antonio Agustín<sup>18</sup> y muy poco tiempo después habría de ver la luz la edición de los *Anales* de Merula.<sup>19</sup>

London: Harvard University Press – William Heinemann, 1988 [=1935]), I: *Ennii and Caecilius*, p. xxix. También aparecen referencias a Del Río a propósito de autores editados en el *Syntagma* en ediciones como la de Wallace M. Lindsay, *Nonii Marcelli de compendiosa doctrina libri XX*, 3 vols (Hildesheim: Olms, 1964 [=Lipsiae: B. G. Teubner, 1903]), I, pp. vii, 179, 298; III, p. 810; etc.

<sup>12</sup> Hasta Joaquín Balcells Pinto, *Ennio. Estudio sobre la poesía latina clásica* (Barcelona: Estudio, 1914).

<sup>13</sup> Obispo de Lérida y arzobispo de Tarragona, fue destacado humanista y, entre sus muchos intereses, se ocupó de la Filología: además de Festo, por ejemplo, publicó a Varrón (Roma, 1557 — quizá también 1554 —). Sobre esta faceta véase Joan Carbonell Manils, 'Antonio Agustín, filólogo epigrafista: a propósito de la Lex agraria (CIL I 2 585)', en *Humanismo y pervivencia del Mundo Clásico III: Homenaje al profesor Antonio Fontán*, eds. José M.<sup>a</sup> Maestre Maestre – Joaquín Pascual Barea – Luis Charlo Brea, 5 vols (Madrid: Laberinto, 2002), I, 397 n. 1. No llegó a editar sus *Misceláneas filológicas* (*Veterum scriptorum fragmenta*), que se conservan manuscritas en los códices 7901 y 7902 de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid y constituyen una recopilación de poetas latinos fragmentarios con indicación de la fuente, algunas variantes textuales anotadas al margen y observaciones métricas obra del italiano Gabriele Faerno; entre estos autores ocupa un lugar destacado Ennio en las páginas 477-539 del manuscrito 7902. Fundamental sobre esta última obra de Agustín es José C. Miralles Maldonado, 'Los fragmentos de Lucilio en la "edición" inédita de Antonio Agustín: estudio y comentario' (Tesis doctoral, Universidad de Murcia, 1994), útil asimismo para la vida y la obra del autor. También sobre la importancia de los manuscritos de Agustín, en este caso por lo que respecta a Accio, se puede ver Jacqueline Dangel, *Accius: Œvres (fragments)* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1995), pp. 86-88.

<sup>14</sup> Por lo que respecta a Ennio véase para la Antigüedad Jocelyn, pp. 47-57, y, para las primeras ediciones, Vahlen, p. CXXXI-CXXXVII.

<sup>15</sup> Aunque el año de edición de la primera parte es 1593, la *praefatio*, dedicada al obispo de Amberes Laevinus Torrentius (1525-1595), está fechada en Lovaina el 24 de mayo de 1589.

<sup>16</sup> Robertus Stephanus – Henricus Stephanus, *Fragmenta poetarum veterum Latinorum* ([Geneuae]: Henricus Stephanus, 1564); Ennio aparece en las páginas 76-136.

<sup>17</sup> La fecha de la edición napolitana de este (1590) está entre la del prólogo y la publicación efectiva de la obra.

<sup>18</sup> Sobre los manuscritos 7901 y 7902 de la Biblioteca Nacional y su datación véase Miralles, 'Los fragmentos', pp. 118-122.

<sup>19</sup> Paullus G.F.P.N. Merula, *Q. Enni... Annalium lib. XIII... fragmenta* (Lugduni Batavorum: Ioannes Paetsius & Ludovicus Elzevirius, 1595).

Pues bien, dentro del *Syntagma* — pág. 93 —, en la primera parte y al comienzo de los *Fragmenta veterum tragicorum* declara Del Río los autores de los que extrae las citas y las fuentes de estos<sup>20</sup> y, a continuación, presenta las citas de Livio Andrónico — págs. 93-95 — y de Ennio, entre las páginas 96 y 107, a las que siguen las de Nevio, Pacuvio, Accio y otros. Posteriormente, en las páginas 163-167, aparecen las *opinationes* sobre las tragedias de Ennio. Los fragmentos aparecen por orden alfabético aproximado del título de la obra: *Achilles, Ajax, Alcestis, Alcmæon, Alexander, Andromacha, Andromeda, Athamas, Cresphontes, Dulorestes, Erectheus, Eumenides, Iliona, Iphigenia, Hectoris lytra, Hecuba, Medea, Menalippa al. Menalippo, Phoenix, Scipio, Telamon, Telephus, Thyestes*.<sup>21</sup> Una lista de fragmentos *ex incertis Ennii tragoed.* remata la colección. Al margen de cada una de las citas se presentan las fuentes de las que están extraídas.

Sobre la labor de Martín del Río se han formulado alguna vez juicios no demasiado favorables: ya Vahlen advirtió que el jesuita había seguido en gran medida a los Estienne y que, por lo que respecta a Ennio, no aporta grandes novedades ni aplicó excesivo ingenio a su trabajo.<sup>22</sup> Pero para calibrar las aportaciones de Del Río sería necesario comparar su propio texto con otros, especialmente con el de Estienne, acudiendo también en ciertos casos a las ediciones modernas. Las siguientes notas pretenden aclarar lo que de original pudo tener la edición de Martín del Río y si supuso avance alguno en el conocimiento de Ennio.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Las notas de Antonio Agustín, por cierto, figuran entre sus fuentes gracias sin duda a las ediciones de Varrón (Roma, 1557) y Festo (Venecia, 1559). Nómina completa de autores y fuentes: *Fragmenta veterum tragicorum Livii Andronici, Ennii, Pacuvii, Accii, et aliorum desumpta ex Apuleio, Auct. lib. ad. Herenn., D. Augustino, Capro, Carisio, Censorino, Cicerone, Diomede, Donato, Fabio Quinct., Festio, Fulgentio, Gellio, D. Isidoro, Macrobio, Nonio, Prisciano, Probo, Ruffino, Seneca, Seruio, Terentiano, Tertulliano, Varrone, Victorino, Veteri Commentatore Persii et Juvenalis*. En cuanto a sus fuentes, Del Río anuncia a continuación: *Ad castigationem auxilio fuere fragmenta quae N.N.P. & F. ediderunt. Docti viri N. in Varronem Notae, & in Festum Commentar. Ant. Augustini Archiepiscopi in Varronem & Festum Notae. Fuluij Vrsini in Festum castigationes, & Had. Turneb. in Varronem. Notae Anonymi in Nonium Parisiis editae. Veteres impressiones, Varronis, Nonii, Festi, Prisciani, Diomedis, Gellii, Macrobij ex Bibliotheca Societatis Collegii Moguntini. Prisciano cum quatuor m.s. collato operâ D. Læu. Torrentij. Fulgencio Planciade collato cum tribus m.s. operâ Caroli Langij.*

<sup>21</sup> No es equivalente a la lista que ofrece Estienne, puesto que en esta se mezclan las tragedias con todas las demás obras a excepción de *Anales*. Si se compara con la de Colonna faltan *Cressae, Nemea* y *Antiopa*, mientras que este no considera *Scipio* entre las tragedias.

<sup>22</sup> Vahlen, p. CXXXII.

<sup>23</sup> Para el estudio de cada una de las tragedias, aparecen en las notas correspondientes el número de fragmento en números romanos y el de verso en arábigos de la edición de



Por lo que respecta a *Achilles*<sup>24</sup>, lo más llamativo es la omisión de los dos fragmentos que abren la edición de Estienne<sup>25</sup>, precisamente los que en las fuentes acompañan el título con el genitivo *Aristarchi* y que Del Río relegó a las anotaciones por considerarlos cómicos sin ninguna duda.<sup>26</sup> Los admiten, en cambio, todos los editores modernos, al igual que Colonna y Agustín.<sup>27</sup> En cuanto al V de Jocelyn, que este opta por atetizar — †*nam consilius*† —, intentó Del Río adaptarlo distribuyéndolo en dos versos y eliminando *nam*: ...*consiliis obuarant, quibus tamen / concedit hic ordo*...<sup>28</sup> Hoy sigue siendo un pasaje discutido.

En *Ajax* presenta los mismos fragmentos que Estienne, Agustín y Colonna<sup>29</sup>, si bien se aparta de estos en el texto del primero — *sanguine emisso* en vez de *Ajax misso sanguine*<sup>30</sup>; en el tercero presenta al principio la lectura *Quis est*, que, según su propio testimonio, halló Del Río en cuantos ejemplares de Nonio consultó y que, de acuerdo con Colonna<sup>31</sup>, figura en algunos manuscritos. Solo Antonio Agustín la comparte. En las *opinationes*, además de señalar estas divergencias, advierte que la obra está traducida de Sófocles y presenta una audaz conjetura que

Jocelyn, el número de verso de la segunda edición de Vahlen entre paréntesis y, por último, la fuente que utiliza Del Río; no es raro que este, en las ocasiones en que un texto ha sido transmitido por varios autores, solo haya tenido conocimiento de uno de ellos, tal como suele suceder con los editores antiguos. En algún caso en que los fragmentos no se corresponden ni con Vahlen ni con Jocelyn he transcrito íntegro el texto de Del Río. Las numeraciones de Festo y Nonio se refiere a las respectivas ediciones de Lindsay en Teubner, aunque en la segunda lo que se utiliza es la paginación de Mercier. Un guión indica que un fragmento no se encuentra en las ediciones de Jocelyn o Vahlen. He añadido referencias a la segunda edición de Ribbeck, entre las más recientes (alguna vez también a L. Müller y, con más frecuencia, a Warmington), y a Colonna y Antonio Agustín entre las antiguas. Los textos de este se hallan en los folios 479<sup>r</sup>-486<sup>v</sup>, 503<sup>r</sup>-504<sup>v</sup> del manuscrito 7902, los *incerta* y los testimonios en 504<sup>r</sup>-509<sup>v</sup>; no reproduzco los paréntesis con los que señala las palabras que comentan los gramáticos y que dan lugar a las citas.

<sup>24</sup> Constituido por 1) VII 8 (6V, Non., 277, 23); 2) VI 6-7 (13-14V, Non., 166, 20); 3) V 5 (4V, Non., 147, 18); 4) IV 3-4 (10-11V, Fest., 394, 33, Gell. IV 17, 13-14, Non., 169, 1).

<sup>25</sup> VIII 9 (5V, Non., 472, 26) y III 2 (16V, Fest., 282, 9).

<sup>26</sup> P. 163.

<sup>27</sup> Este, por cierto, es el primero que incluye en el texto Plaut., *Poen.*, 1, 3; Colonna, posteriormente, apunta después esta misma posibilidad (p. 218 Hessel)

<sup>28</sup> Podrían analizarse como septenarios trocaicos incompletos.

<sup>29</sup> 1) XII 14 (20V, Fest., 482, 3); 2) XI 13 (19V, Varro, *ling.*, 6, 6; 6, 81; 7, 75-76); 3) XIII 15 (17V, Non., 393,7).

<sup>30</sup> El texto de Festo tras *ennius inaiace* presenta aquí *a. ax misso sanguine*. En cuanto al que presenta Jocelyn, podría tratarse de un septenario trocaico; en la versión de Del Río se encontrarían mayores dificultades métricas. Agustín, por otra parte, resuelve el pasaje en un senario yámbico.

<sup>31</sup> P. 221 Hessel; Lindsay (vol. II, 630), desde luego, no recoge la variante.

supone reescribir prácticamente el verso: *Phryges tum Achiuis cesserunt statim*.

*Alcestis* no figura en este lugar en la edición de Estienne: el único testimonio que aduce Del Río de esta obra pertenece a Fulgencio<sup>32</sup> y no carece de problemas en el texto: en vez de *Alcestide* lo que aparece en la edición de Helm es *Telestide*. En cualquier caso, Fulgencio carece de toda credibilidad entre los editores modernos<sup>33</sup> y estos, en consecuencia, omiten sin más la cita. Colonna<sup>34</sup> sí admitió el testimonio y lo completó con *Anales* XLVII vv. 496-497 Skutsch.<sup>35</sup> Del Río, en los comentarios — p. 163 —, propone corregir *nimirum* por *nimum* y declara que, en su opinión, debía ser una comedia. También Antonio Agustín la consideró así.<sup>36</sup>

De *Alcmæon* solo se recogen tres fragmentos<sup>37</sup>: los dos primeros coinciden con los de Estienne, que, por cierto, niegan explícitamente que el tercero pertenezca a Ennio. Del Río, en cambio, lo acepta, aunque atribuyendo sus fuentes a Varrón, no a Cicerón. La edición de Colonna en este caso, como en tantos otros, amplía considerablemente las citas y está mucho más cerca de las modernas, al igual que Agustín, que en esta tragedia presenta prácticamente el mismo texto<sup>38</sup>; ambos, por cierto, admiten el tercer fragmento aumentado en un verso — *Diana facem iacit a laeua* —, como más adelante harían Ribbeck, Vahlen, Warmington y Jocelyn.

*Alexander* está constituida por los mismos siete fragmentos<sup>39</sup> que la versión de Estienne, pero con un orden totalmente trastocado.<sup>40</sup> Además,

<sup>32</sup> *Serm. ant.* XIX (119.9 Helm).

<sup>33</sup> Cf. e.g. Vahlen, pp. CXXIII-CXXIV; Jocelyn, p. 412.

<sup>34</sup> Pp. 288-289 Hessel. Manifiesta este, por cierto, que no ha hallado más mención a la *Alcestis* de Ennio que la de Fulgencio.

<sup>35</sup> Vv. 467-468 Vahlen: Char. gramm. *GL* Keil I 201 (p. 261 Barwick).

<sup>36</sup> Fol. 479<sup>v</sup> del mss. 7902.

<sup>37</sup> 1) XVI 31 (21V, Non., 127, 13); 2) XIV 16 (22V, Cic., *fin.*, 4, 62); 3) XV 28-29 (31-32V, Cic., *Ac.*, 2, 89).

<sup>38</sup> La única distinción es que Colonna no admite los versos 18-20 de Jocelyn. Los textos de Agustín, por consiguiente, solo se diferencian de los de Jocelyn en el orden en el que aparece el XVI 31 (21V, Non. 127, 13), que en la edición de aquel figura en segundo lugar y en la de este en último.

<sup>39</sup> 1) XXI 65 (78V, Gell., 7, 5, 10); 2) XXII 66 (50V, Fest., 418, 1); 3) XXIII 67 (51V, Fest., 494, 33); 4) XIX 62-63 (47-48V, Varro, *ling.*, 6, 83); 5) XXIV 68 (49V, Macr., *Sat.*, 6, 1, 61); 6) XXVI 72-73 (76-77V, Macr., *Sat.*, 6, 2, 25); 7) XXV 69-71 (72-75V, Macr., *Sat.*, 6, 2, 18). A diferencia de Estienne y Del Río, Agustín y Colonna incorporan XX 64 (53V, Varro, *ling.*, 7, 82), que ha quedado ya ligado a esta tragedia, cf. Ribbeck, Vahlen, Warmington o Jocelyn.

<sup>40</sup> Orden de Estienne con la numeración de Del Río: VII, V, VI, IV, II, III, I; Colonna, en cambio, presenta III-II, VII, IV, VI, V, I y añade al final XX 64 (53V, Varro, *ling.*, 7, 82). También Agustín había incorporado esta cita, aunque en penúltimo lugar: V, VII, VI, I, IV, Varro, *ling.*, 7, 82, II, III.

se advierten las siguientes diferencias: el segundo fragmento lo reduce Del Río a *Quid lasciuis stolide*?<sup>41</sup>; en el cuarto omite *propter hanc aurium auiditatem theatra replentur* — exactamente igual que Colonna y los editores modernos —; en el tercer verso<sup>42</sup> del sexto fragmento pasa Pergama a una nueva línea: *qui suo partu ardua perdat / Pergama*...<sup>43</sup> En las *opinationes* duda de que el argumento de la tragedia versara sobre la muerte de Paris herido por Filoctetes ante la indiferencia primero y la desesperación después de su esposa Enone, según narra Quinto de Esmirna en el libro X, y se pregunta si no habría que corregir el título en *Alejandra*, es decir, Casandra. Por lo demás, reproduce Virgilio, *Eneida* V 302 a propósito del quinto fragmento, advirtiendo el evidente paralelo entre ambos, aunque remitiendo al lector a Ennio, *Anales*, libro XI.<sup>44</sup>

*Andromacha* consta de once fragmentos<sup>45</sup>: los siete últimos coinciden con los de Estienne y exactamente en el mismo orden. Existe, con todo, alguna pequeña diferencia también en estos, pero sobre todo es la adición de los primeros lo que supone la mayor aportación de Martín del Río en esta tragedia. Se trata de fragmentos reconocidos y admitidos en las ediciones posteriores, desde Colonna<sup>46</sup> hasta las modernas. En el primero presenta un solo verso<sup>47</sup>; para el segundo toma el texto de Cicerón, con

<sup>41</sup> En Estienne, “Hominem appellat quia lasciui stolidè non intelligit”, que Colonna presenta como “Hominem adpellat: quid lasciuis stolide? non intelligit”, aproximadamente lo mismo que Warmington.

<sup>42</sup> Vahlen, como Ribbeck, Warmington o Jocelyn, reúne en un solo verso, el 76, lo que Estienne, Del Río y Colonna dividían en dos.

<sup>43</sup> El texto, que sigue presentando dificultades métricas en la forma impresa por los editores modernos (cf. e.g. Jocelyn, p. 233), no parece más fácil de analizar así.

<sup>44</sup> Véase la nota de Iacobus Willis, *Macrobius*, 2.<sup>a</sup> ed., 2 vols (Stutgardiae et Lipsiae: B. G. Teubner, 1994 [=1970]), I: *Saturnalia*, p. 356 línea 6.

<sup>45</sup> 1) XLI 106-107 (83-84V, Non., 504, 18); 2) XXXIV 98 (107-110V, Cic., *Tusc.*, 1, 21, cf. Varro, *ling.*, 7, 6); 3) XXVII, XXXVI 92-94, 79, 100 (97-99, 111, 82V, Cic., *Tusc.*, 3, 45; I 105; Varro, *ling.*, 10, 70); 4) XXXVII 101 (111V, Fest., 384, 21); 5) XXXIX 103 (102V, Non., 292, 7); 6) XL 104-105 (80-81V, Non., 515, 12 y 401, 37); 7) XLVIII 115 (114V, Non., 20, 18); 8) XLIV 111 (79V, Macr., *Sat.*, 6, 5, 10); 9) XLIII 109-110 (104V, Non., 515, 24); 10) XXXVIII 102 (103V, Non., 76, 1); 11) XLII 108 (106V, Non., 505, 12).

<sup>46</sup> También en esta pieza es la edición de Colonna la que representa un mayor avance en el texto de Ennio: sus fragmentos coinciden ya en gran parte con los que admiten Ribbeck, Vahlen, Warmington o Jocelyn. En cuanto a Agustín, por una parte presenta por primera vez XXXV 99 (105V, Varro, *ling.*, 7, 82) — que también incorporaría Colonna —, demás del testimonio del fragmento XXX de Jocelyn (Cic., *Opt. gen.*, 18) y, erróneamente, un verso, el 45 Ribbeck, de Pomponio Bononiense (Non., 164, 23; 186, 1; 515, 31); por otra, omite alguno de los fragmentos de Estienne y Del Río, concretamente, los números I, II, III, IV y VII.

<sup>47</sup> Como Colonna; los editores modernos, en cambio, pasan *in clipeo* al siguiente verso para formar dos versos: un senario yámbico y lo que podría ser el principio de otro.

lo que queda más cerca de Ribbeck, Vahlen o Warmington que de Colonna y Jocelyn, aunque con una distribución totalmente distinta y alguna alteración<sup>48</sup>; tampoco para el tercero coincide exactamente con los editores modernos. Por lo que respecta a las variaciones en los fragmentos que comparte con Estienne, en el sexto omite *haec*<sup>49</sup> al principio, elige *annos malos* por *malos annos* y separa el texto en dos versos<sup>50</sup> distinguiendo así dos senarios yámbicos; al noveno lo distribuye en dos versos<sup>51</sup> y escribe *conatu trahens* en vez de *conatur trabem* de acuerdo con una conjetura de Lipsio que reconoce expresamente<sup>52</sup> y que tendrían muy en cuenta los editores posteriores; también en el siguiente imprime por primera vez en un texto las lecturas de Lipsio<sup>53</sup>, mientras que Colonna presenta el mismo texto que Estienne. En cuanto al fragmento VII, la mayoría de los editores no lo adscriben a *Andrómaca*, sino a *Andrómeda*.<sup>54</sup> En las *opinationes* informa también Del Río de que la obra es traducción de Eurípides y de que en el fragmento I se alude al cadáver de Astianacte.

De los nueve fragmentos de *Andromeda*<sup>55</sup> que están atestiguados, cinco se encuentran ya en Estienne<sup>56</sup>: de todos estos solo presenta alguna diferencia el fragmento VI de Del Río. Este lo dividió por primera vez en dos versos<sup>57</sup>, exactamente de la misma forma que aparece en Ribbeck, Vahlen, Warmington o Jocelyn, para distinguir dos septenarios trocaicos.<sup>58</sup> La

<sup>48</sup> “Acherusia templa alta Orci, pallida / leti obnubila, obsita tenebris loca.”

<sup>49</sup> Tal como hacen los editores modernos, no así Colonna, que transmite exactamente el texto de Estienne, ni Agustín.

<sup>50</sup> “Annos malos multosque longinque ab domo / bellum gerentes summum, summa industria”.

<sup>51</sup> “Sed quasi ferrum aut lapis durat; / rarenter gemitum conatu trahens”.

<sup>52</sup> Véanse las *opinationes*, p. 164. El pasaje, desde luego, es sumamente difícil: Colonna leyó *trahere* por *trabem*; Jocelyn atetiza †*conatur trabem*†; Warmington acepta la conjetura de Lipsio — *conatu trahens* —; Ribbeck y Vahlen, solo en parte: *conatur trahens*.

<sup>53</sup> Que lee *tabetne* por *tabesne* y escribe interrogación tras *fit*, una lectura que aceptan Ribbeck, Vahlen y Warmington, mientras que Jocelyn atetiza casi todo el verso. Ya Antonio Agustín, por cierto había escrito en esta parte: *Quid fit? sedit. contabetne?*

<sup>54</sup> Así Antonio Agustín, Colonna, Ribbeck, Vahlen, Warmington y Jocelyn.

<sup>55</sup> 1) XXXIII 96-97 (112-113V, Varro, *ling.*, 5, 19); 2) CLXVIII 319 (381V, Varro, *ling.*, 5, 19); 3) CLXXXVII 354 (411V, Varro, *ling.*, 5, 23); 4) XLV 112 (120V, Fest., 312, 7); 5) XLVII 114 (117V, Fest., 514, 22); 6) L 117-118 (118-119V, Non., 183, 18); 7) XLVI 113 (115V, Non., 169, 25); 8) LI 119 (122V, Prisc. *GL* Keil II 293); 9) XLIX 116 (116V, Non., 384, 32 y 165, 8).

<sup>56</sup> Exactamente VI, VII, IX, IV, VIII por este orden. Además, entre el VII y el IX figura el que Del Río considera fragmento I de *Andrómaca* y que el resto de los editores también sitúa en esa tragedia.

<sup>57</sup> “...alia fluctus differt, dissipat / visceratim membra, maria salsa spumant sanguine”.

<sup>58</sup> Colonna, en cambio presenta: “Alia fluctus differt, dissipat visceratim membra: / maria salsa spumant sanguine”.

diferencia entre Del Río y Ribbeck o Colonna<sup>59</sup> es que estos, como Agustín<sup>60</sup>, presentan en el lugar adecuado XLVIII 115 (114V, Non. 20.18), que Estienne y Del Río, como ya se ha visto, incluyeron en *Andrómaca*, y, en cambio, omiten los textos II y III del jesuita.<sup>61</sup> En las *opinationes* advierte este que la obra fue traducción de Eurípides y propone unir los fragmentos VIII y VII.<sup>62</sup>

En *Athamas* figuran dos fragmentos.<sup>63</sup> Solo el primero se halla en Estienne y en los demás editores, pero en vez del *Euan*, *Euius* que remata el tercer verso después de *Tum pariter*, escribe Del Río por primera vez el *Euan*, *euhoë*, *euhoë*, *Euius* atribuido a Fabricius que aceptan también Ribbeck, Vahlen y Warmington.<sup>64</sup> En los comentarios se atribuye Del Río el mérito de incluir en esta tragedia el segundo fragmento, cuya adscripción omite Varrón; se trata de un texto problemático<sup>65</sup> que se suele situar entre los de localización incierta.

*Cresphontes* está compuesto de ocho citas<sup>66</sup>: todas se corresponden con las que ofrece Estienne<sup>67</sup> y, salvo por lo que respecta al fragmento VI de

<sup>59</sup> Ambos, en efecto, presentan los mismos fragmentos, aunque con divergencias menores y en distinto orden.

<sup>60</sup> No admite este los tres primeros textos de Del Río, con lo que, en realidad, la única diferencia entre los que él presenta y los de Jocelyn — además, por supuesto, de los detalles — es que ha trasladado aquí uno de *Andrómaca*, el I (XLI 106-107; 83-84V, Non., 504, 18).

<sup>61</sup> Ambos incluidos modernamente entre los fragmentos de localización incierta. En cuanto al fragmento I, lo incluyen en *Andrómeda* todos los editores excepto Jocelyn, que lo atribuye a *Andrómaca*; el problema reside en cómo se resuelva el texto de Varrón que lo trasmite.

<sup>62</sup> P. 164: “filiis propter te obiecta sum innocens Nerei, / scapreo inuestita saxo, atque ostreis, quam excalperent”.

<sup>63</sup> 1) LII 120-124 (123-127V, Char. gramm. GL Keil I 241 [314.9 Barwick]); 2) CLXXXVI 352-353 (388-389V, Varro, ling., 5, 14).

<sup>64</sup> Corrigiendo, por cierto, *euius* en *euium*, cf. también Jocelyn p. 269 (†*euhan euhiu*†).

<sup>65</sup> El texto de Jocelyn: “o terra Thraeca ubi Liberi fanum inclutum / Maro locaui”. En el aparato crítico se encuentra: Thraeca *Fleckeisen*: treca F | inclutum *Gulielmius*: inciuiū F | miro ex maro, ut uid., corr. F | locaui *Ribbeck*. El texto de Del Río: “O terra tritauī, in cuius moero Liberi / fanum locaui”.

<sup>66</sup> 1) LV 133 (133V, Fest., 334, 8); 2) LIV 132 (129V Fest., 312, 7); 3) LVIII 137 (128V, Non., 471, 2); 4) LVII 135-136 (130V, Non., 144, 12); 5) LVI 134 (134V, Gell., 7, 16, 8-10); 6) LIX 138-139 (131-132V, Macr., Sat., 6, 2, 21); 7) LIII 125-131 (- V, Rhet. Her., 2, 38); 8) CLXII 309-310 (342-343V, Rhet. Her., 2, 39).

<sup>67</sup> Que también, por otra parte, son las mismas que escriben Antonio Agustín y Colonna, y además sin que haya prácticamente divergencias textuales: es importante únicamente *duxit uxorem sibi liberū quæsendū caussa* (Colonna) en vez de *ducit me uxorem liberū sibi quæsendū gratia* que presenta el fragmento II de Del Río, lo mismo

Del Río, que ocupaba en aquellos el último lugar, exactamente en el mismo orden. Pero el pasaje más debatido de todos es sin duda el VII de Del Río: los Estienne habían admitido los versos 125-131 de Jocelyn y le habían añadido ...*duxi probum, / errau: pòst cognoui, & fugio cognitum*, igual que haría después Colonna; Del Río sigue el mismo procedimiento, pero altera el penúltimo verso — *Cur me huic locabas nuptiis? duxi probum* —, mientras que Antonio Agustín reduce la cita a 125-128 de Jocelyn. Entre los editores modernos las divergencias son igualmente considerables, puesto que Vahlen y Warmington excluyen todo el texto sin más; Ribbeck añade *duxi probum ...cognitum* a 125-128 y elimina 129-131 en su segunda edición, pero en la tercera suprime también el fragmento. El caso es que Del Río en el comentario revisó sus propias decisiones convencido de que los dos últimos versos — *Cur me ...fugio cognitum* — no son en realidad de Ennio, sino que fueron añadidos por el autor de la *Retórica a Herenio* con la intención de mostrar con ellos el arte de invertir un argumento. Tanto L. Müller<sup>68</sup> como Jocelyn<sup>69</sup> adoptan expresamente esta solución.

A *Dulorestes* pertenece un solo fragmento<sup>70</sup> que desde Escalígero se atribuye mayoritariamente a Pacuvio: Estienne, Antonio Agustín y Colonna presentan el mismo.

Los dos textos que se relacionan con *Erectheus*<sup>71</sup> se encuentran ya de la misma forma<sup>72</sup> y en el mismo orden en Estienne. El tercer fragmento que se suele incluir en esta obra<sup>73</sup> aparecería impreso por primera vez con la edición de Colonna, aunque ya antes lo había recopilado Antonio Agustín.

que Estienne y Agustín, salvo que estos escriben *liberorum*. Entre los editores modernos, Jocelyn se aparta de Estienne solo en relegar el número VIII a los fragmentos de localización incierta, aunque, naturalmente, no conserva ni el mismo orden ni exactamente las mismas lecturas.

<sup>68</sup> Véase el aparato crítico *ad loc.*, p. 123.

<sup>69</sup> P. 274.

<sup>70</sup> Pacuv., *trag.*, 140-141 Ribbeck.

<sup>71</sup> 1) LXI 141-142 (137-138V, Gell., 7, 16, 10); 2) LXII 143 (140V, Macr., *Sat.*, 6, 4, 6).

<sup>72</sup> El primer verso del primero comienza con una conjetura de Muretus (Del Río p. 164) *Quibu' nunc*, con lo que se forman dos senarios yámbicos, una solución que aceptan todos los editores antiguos, incluidos Colonna y Antonio Agustín, hasta Ribbeck. Posteriormente, L. Müller conjeturaría *quin nunc*, mientras que Vahlen, seguido por Warmington, escribe *cui nunc* y Jocelyn presenta †*qui† nunc*.

<sup>73</sup> LX 140 (139V, Fest. 158, 10 y Paul. 159, 4). Jocelyn solo incluye estos tres fragmentos.

Cinco textos se atribuyen a *Eumenides*<sup>74</sup> — los mismos que Colonna —,<sup>75</sup> mientras que los Estienne solo presentan tres: V, II, III. Además, el segundo aparece en Del Río separado en dos versos y con una corrección en el texto.<sup>76</sup> Mayor relevancia tiene la aportación del fragmento IV, que aparece tal cual en las ediciones modernas. En cambio, también figura el I, que admiten aquí Colonna, Vahlen y Warmington, pero que otros<sup>77</sup> sitúan en los fragmentos de localización incierta y presenta graves problemas textuales.<sup>78</sup>

*Iliona* no se edita hoy entre las tragedias de Ennio; en efecto, de los tres fragmentos<sup>79</sup> que aduce Del Río, dos se atribuyen normalmente a Pacuvio<sup>80</sup>, mientras que el primero, el único que editan los Estienne, suele figurar en *Anales*.

A los tres textos de la *Iphigenia* de Estienne agregé Del Río uno nuevo correspondiente a los versos 188-191 de Jocelyn que se acepta hoy día entre los auténticos<sup>81</sup>; Colonna<sup>82</sup> añadiría otros, con lo que, nuevamente, se acerca este más a las ediciones modernas. También Antonio Agustín<sup>83</sup> recopiló dos fragmentos nuevos, pero omite el I de Del Río. En las citas que coinciden con Estienne presenta Del Río dos innovaciones: la división de II en dos versos tras *pedem*<sup>84</sup> y la corrección de Lipsio *otioso in otio* en

<sup>74</sup> 1) CXII 364 (150V, Varro, *ling.*, 7, 19); 2) LXV 146-147 (145-146V, Non., 474, 35); 3) LXVI 148 (148V, Non., 505, 16); 4) LXIII 144 (147V, Non., 292, 18); 5) LXIV 145 (149V, Non., 306, 32).

<sup>75</sup> Nuevamente es Antonio Agustín el que presenta un texto más acorde con las ediciones actuales; en este caso, el mismo que Jocelyn, pero con otro orden: vv. 146-147, 148, 144, 145.

<sup>76</sup> "...tacere opino esse optimum, / ut pro viribus sapere atque fabulari tutò nouerint"; el texto de Colonna es igual en todo excepto en *tutè*. Los editores modernos, en cambio, separan los versos tras *viribus*, con lo que se forman dos senarios yámicos. Los Estienne presentan *noueris* de acuerdo con el texto de Nonio; Agustín, Ribbeck, Müller, Vahlen, Warmington y Jocelyn lo mantienen.

<sup>77</sup> Así Antonio Agustín, Ribbeck (v. 349) y Jocelyn.

<sup>78</sup> Según Del Río y Estienne: "Areopagiticae ea de re vocant petram"; en Jocelyn, "Areopagiticae quid dedere †quam pudam†".

<sup>79</sup> 1) Enn., *ann.*, 37, 60 Skutsch (55V, Non., 215, 6; Explan. in Don. *GL* Keil IV 563); 2) Pacuv., *trag.*, 197 Ribbeck; 3) Pacuv., *trag.*, 202 Ribbeck.

<sup>80</sup> También Colonna, por cierto, los atribuye a la *Ilíone* de Ennio.

<sup>81</sup> Con lo cual los fragmentos de Del Río son los siguientes: 1) XCVI 188-191 (215-218V, Varro, *ling.*, VII 73); 2) XCVIII 193-194 (213-214V, Fest., 292, 7); 3) XCVII 192 (245V, Fest., 218, 21); 4) XCIX 195-202 (234-241V, Gell., 19, 10, 12). Los de Estienne: IV, III, II.

<sup>82</sup> Su edición consta concretamente de los fragmentos II, I, V, VI, VII, XIII, XI de Vahlen.

<sup>83</sup> Presenta en total cinco: V, XI, XIII, I, VII de Vahlen. Ni el primero ni el último aparecen en Del Río.

<sup>84</sup> Quizá una simple errata (cf. *opinationes* p. 165) en lugar del *pedum* de los demás editores. La separación de líneas sí que es la misma que la que establecen Colonna y todos

vez de *otioso initio* en el quinto verso del IV.<sup>85</sup> En las *opinationes* (p. 165) señala Del Río que la tragedia está traducida de Eurípides y anota alguna particularidad como el orden de II que trasmite Festo (292.15-16).

De los diecisiete textos que presenta Del Río en *Hectoris lytra*<sup>86</sup> los catorce primeros coinciden con los de *Hectoris Lytris* de Estienne y además en el mismo orden, mientras que los dos últimos — igualmente en el mismo orden — son los que los Stephanus editan en *Lustris*.<sup>87</sup> Lo más novedoso del jesuita, por consiguiente, fue el hecho de intercalar el fragmento XV, procedimiento que también sigue Colonna.<sup>88</sup> Otros filólogos, como Antonio Agustín o Jocelyn<sup>89</sup>, se limitan a los dieciséis textos de los Estienne. Aunque la coincidencia de Del Río con estos en la nómina de los fragmentos es casi plena, hay importantes diferencias de detalle. Así, distingue versos en varias citas que los Estienne presentan, como casi siempre, sin división: en muchos casos coincide con las ediciones actuales, como en I, V, VII<sup>90</sup>, aunque no siempre está acertado.<sup>91</sup> Entre las lecturas divergentes figura *virtutem* por el segundo *virtute*<sup>92</sup> en el I, la omisión de

los filólogos posteriores. Forma un dímeter anapéstico el primer verso; en el segundo hay discrepancias textuales, puesto que ninguno de los editores antiguos escribe el *o fide* que se encuentra en los *Scholia Veroniensia*, pero no en Festo.

<sup>85</sup> También la admiten Colonna, Ribbeck, Müller, Vahlen y Warmington; Jocelyn opta por *atetizar*, †*otioso initio*†. Otra divergencia se puede hallar en el debatido tercer verso de I, en el que Del Río y Colonna leen: “*stellas, cogens sublime etiam*”, mientras que Vahlen, por ejemplo, opta por “*stellas sublime agitans etiam atque*”.

<sup>86</sup> 1) LXXI 155-156 (188-189V, Non., 399, 8); 2) LXVIII 150-151 (177V, Non., 111, 7); 3) LXXVIII 165 (181V, Non., 504, 30); 4) LXXVI 163 (156V, Non., 489, 29); 5) LXX 153-154 (158-159V, Non., 355, 3); 6) LXXIV 160 (179V, Non., 469, 25); 7) LXXX 167-168 (182-183V, Non., 518, 3); 8) LXXV 161-162 (186V, Non., 472, 21); 9) LXIX 152 (193V, Non., 222, 25); 10) LXXIII 159 (185V, Non., 467, 23); 11) LXXVII 164 (157V, Non., 490, 6); 12) LXXIX 166 (180V, Non., 510, 32); 13) LXVII 149 (178V, Fest., 334, 8); 14) LXXII 157-158 (190-192V, Non., 407, 24); 15) CCIII 376 (175V, Fest., 218, 2); 16) LXXXII 170 (160V, Diom. *GL* Keil I 387); 17) LXXXI 169 (184V, Diom. *GL* Keil I 345).

<sup>87</sup> Con esta excepción todos los editores han admitido una sola obra.

<sup>88</sup> Por otra parte, este une IV y XI — como haría más tarde Vahlen, por ejemplo —, mientras que Del Río, de acuerdo con el criterio de Ribbeck, Warmington o Jocelyn, por ejemplo, los mantiene independientes. Tampoco los funden Estienne o Antonio Agustín. Con todo, Jocelyn acepta que los dos fragmentos fueran consecutivos, cf. p. 300.

<sup>89</sup> Imprime este en los fragmentos de localización incierta el número XV (CCIII 376 — 175V —, Fest. 218, 2).

<sup>90</sup> Comparo con Jocelyn: los primeros versos acaban respectivamente en *mali, foras* y *abstulit*. En los dos últimos coincide también con Colonna.

<sup>91</sup> En II (tras *consilium*) o XVII (*quadrupedantes*), por ejemplo.

<sup>92</sup> Ni Lindsay en su edición de Nonio ni los editores modernos consignan la variante en el aparato crítico. Sin embargo, tanto Estienne como Colonna leen *virtute*; Antonio Agustín también, pero señala la lectura *virtutem* al margen.



et ante sonit<sup>93</sup> y el intercambio de lugar entre *sanguine* y *sudat*<sup>94</sup> en el III; la supresión de *vi* ante *foras* y las lecturas *Hector re* y *ferè* en vez de *Hectorei* y *ferre* en V<sup>95</sup>; *Seruos* corregido en *Per vos* en VIII<sup>96</sup>; *Inferam* en *Inferum* en IX<sup>97</sup>; *seueriter* en lugar de *sæuum* en XII<sup>98</sup> o *tralitantes* (¿?) por *halitantes* en XVII. Mayores discrepancias hay en el fragmento XIV, un pasaje lleno de dificultades que de *ducet quadrupedum iugo inuita, indoma, infrænis, & iugo valida, quorū tenacia infrænari minis* pasa, de acuerdo en su mayor parte con las enmiendas de Lipsio<sup>99</sup>, a *duce quadrupedem, iuga inuitum, doma infrenum, & iunge validè, equorum tenacia infrenari minis nequit*.<sup>100</sup> Los comentarios en este caso, además de ocuparse de la crítica textual, dedican una parte al título de la obra; finalmente, afirma que se trata de una sola obra no *Hectoris lytra* y *Lustra*, como pretendieron los Estienne.

*Hecuba* figura en la edición de Estienne con nueve fragmentos<sup>101</sup>, once en la de Del Río<sup>102</sup>; Colonna ampliaría la colección hasta trece.<sup>103</sup> Entre

<sup>93</sup> Ribbeck, Vahlen, Warmington y Jocelyn presentan *aes* ante *sonit* (N. Faber); Colonna y Agustín, *et*.

<sup>94</sup> También acoge en este caso Antonio Agustín al margen la lectura de Estienne — *sanguine sudat* —, aunque en el texto lee *sudat sanguine*, como Del Río y todos los editores posteriores.

<sup>95</sup> En las *opinationes* propone también rescribir el fragmento así: *Hector vi summa armatos educit foras / castrisque castra ultro conferre occupat*; véase Ribbeck *ad loc.* sobre la pertinencia de esta lectura.

<sup>96</sup> Del Río no declara de dónde tomó la conjetura; a propósito de este pasaje solo anota la conveniencia de leer *vestrum* en vez del *nostrum* de algunos manuscritos (y de Colonna). Ribbeck, Müller, Vahlen y Warmington también escriben *per vos*, cuyo origen está en Ianus Mellerus Palmerius, *Spicilegia* (1580), reimpresso en Ianus Gruterus, *Lampas, sive Fax artium liberalium*, 6 vols (Frankofurti: Ionas Rhodius, 1602-1607), IV (1604), p. 787; para una discusión del texto cf. Jocelyn, pp. 297-299.

<sup>97</sup> Colonna anota la variante *inferam*, pero al igual que Del Río y todos los demás editores lee *inferum*.

<sup>98</sup> Antonio Agustín escribe *sæuum*, como Estienne; Colonna, también *seueriter*; Ribbeck, L. Müller, Vahlen, Warmington y Jocelyn, *saeviter* sin anotar siquiera variantes; de hecho, Lindsay no recoge ninguna en la edición de Nonio. Sobre el resto del verso véase, sobre todo, el aparato crítico de Ribbeck.

<sup>99</sup> Como reconoce en los comentarios, cf. p. 165.

<sup>100</sup> Compárese con Jocelyn: “†ducet quadrupedum iugo inuitam† / doma infrena et iunge valida quorum tenacia infrenari minis”.

<sup>101</sup> Los números VIII, II, V, VI, IV, IX, VII, X, XI de Del Río; véase la nota siguiente.

<sup>102</sup> 1) LXXXIII 171 (196V, Varro, *ling.*, 7, 6); 2) LXXXVII 177-178 (211-212V, Non., 153, 22); 3) XXVII 81-86 (86-91V, Cic., *Tusc.*, 3, 44-45); 4) LXXXIX 180 (202V, Non., 466, 18); 5) LXXXVI 176 (209V, Non., 116, 31); 6) LXXXV 175 (206V, Non., 115, 28); 7) XCI 182 (197-198V, Non., 474, 32); 8) LXXXIV 172-174 (199-201V, Gell., 11, 4, 1-4); 9) XC 181 (207V, Non., 342, 23); 10) LXXXVIII 179 (195V, Non., 223, 24); 11) XCII 183-184 (203-204V, Non., 507, 19; 494, 3).

<sup>103</sup> Cic., *Tusc.*, 1, 37; I; VIII; VII; XI; VI; Accio, *trag.*, 234 Ribbeck (vv. 43-44 Dangel); CLXXXIII 335 (205V, Cic., *fin.*, 2, 41); X; II; IX; V; IV. Falta el III de Del Río.

las aportaciones del jesuita destaca la incorporación de su primera cita, que continúa apareciendo en las modernas ediciones de *Hécuba*<sup>104</sup>; la III, sin embargo, desde Colonna suele atribuirse a *Andrómaca*.<sup>105</sup> Por lo que se refiere a las diferencias con la edición de los Estienne, cabe señalar las siguientes: en el fragmento II el texto, — *Nunquam scripsistis, qui parentem aut hospitem / necasset; quo quis cruciatu perbiteret* —, casi el mismo que Colonna<sup>106</sup>, mejora enormemente el anterior<sup>107</sup> y es prácticamente igual que el que ofrecen las modernas ediciones<sup>108</sup>; en IV lee *miseram* en lugar de *miserum*, como todos los editores posteriores<sup>109</sup>; en el V corrige en *malè re*<sup>110</sup> el *re malè* de Estienne; también se altera el VI, un pasaje problemático<sup>111</sup>, en el que Del Río, pensando en Políxena<sup>112</sup>, se aleja de la vulgata de su tiempo<sup>113</sup> para acercarse a la solución de Ribbeck, L. Müller, Vahlen o Warmington<sup>114</sup>; en VII presenta *anuis*, una conjetura propia<sup>115</sup>, por el *manus* de Estienne y los códices<sup>116</sup>; en VIII escribe la forma *peruorse*, al igual que Colonna, y altera *nam quum opulenti*<sup>117</sup> convirtiéndolo, de acuerdo con Escalígero, en *namque opulenti cùm*.<sup>118</sup>

<sup>104</sup> Así Jocelyn o Vahlen, por ejemplo.

<sup>105</sup> Aunque también Agustín la cataloga en *Hécuba*; el único que este omite, por cierto, es el fragmento I de Del Río.

<sup>106</sup> La única diferencia es que este presenta *quis* ante *parentem*.

<sup>107</sup> “Sed nunquam scripsisti quis parentem aut hospitem / nec assat quos quis cruciatur permitteret”.

<sup>108</sup> “Set nunquam scripsistis qui parentem aut hospitem / necasset quo quis cruciatu perbiteret” (Vahlen). La variación más importante que en este caso presenta Jocelyn es que atetiza †*quos quis*†.

<sup>109</sup> Aunque no constituye una excepción — escribe también *miseram* —, Antonio Agustín anota la variante *miserum* al margen. Los manuscritos atestiguan ambas, cf. Jocelyn, p. 314.

<sup>110</sup> Como Colonna, Antonio Agustín y todos los demás editores.

<sup>111</sup> Jocelyn atetiza †*uide hinc meae inquam*†; sobre el pasaje cf. p. 310.

<sup>112</sup> La solución que elige Del Río es la de Vossius (Hessel, p. 348); a este es a quien se refiere directamente Jocelyn, p. 310. En los comentarios anotaría el jesuita (p. 166; Hessel, p. 348): *mallem dispescere meae in quam; scilicet Polyxenam. verba Helenae natam retinentis*.

<sup>113</sup> *hanc, meae in quam* en vez de *hinc, meae inquam* (Estienne, Colonna, Antonio Agustín).

<sup>114</sup> Todos presentan *hunc, meae in quem*; la corrección se la atribuyen a Mercerus los dos primeros y a Scriverius el segundo.

<sup>115</sup> Según las *opinationes*, p. 166; pero es la misma lectura que había propuesto Escalígero y aparecería en Colonna. La acabaría aceptando Ribbeck, que anota: Scaliger, *Coniectanea*, p. 140. También Warmington la adoptaría después. En los comentarios, por otra parte, registra Del Río una variante — *mei anus* —, que atribuye a ciertos *critici*: se trata de una conjetura de Palmerius, cf. Gruter, *Lampas*, IV, 779.

<sup>116</sup> Que acepta Vahlen y atetiza Jocelyn.

<sup>117</sup> También Colonna (*Nam quom opulentei*), Antonio Agustín, Ribbeck, Vahlen y Jocelyn.

<sup>118</sup> En este caso no hay referencia alguna en los comentarios. Más adelante, Warmington aceptaría también la lectura.

*Medea* es la tragedia de la que quedan más testimonios: en la versión de Estienne son trece<sup>119</sup>; en la de Del Río, veintiuno<sup>120</sup>; en la de Colonna, catorce en una y cinco en otra.<sup>121</sup> En lo que sí están de acuerdo todas las ediciones es en la presencia al principio del fragmento CIII de Jocelyn, que traduce el comienzo de la *Medea* de Eurípides. Se trata de uno de los pasajes mejor atestiguados, en el que no se encuentran variaciones significativas de texto. De entre todos los que ya estaban editados por Estienne<sup>122</sup>, solo presentan variaciones el III, que empieza *Nam ter mallem sub armis* en vez de *ter sub armis malim*<sup>123</sup>, el IX — *Asta*, la lectura universalmente admitida, por *Astu* —, el XV, con *an ad* en lugar de *anne ad*<sup>124</sup>, y sobre todo el XX, que ya presenta la corrección de Lipsio *Medea Colchis* y no *me de cordis*.<sup>125</sup> Colonna, en cambio, sigue prácticamente el texto ya impreso, excepto en IX.<sup>126</sup> Entre las innovaciones que comparte Del Río con Colonna — IV, V, VI, VII, X —, las tres primeras suelen admitirse modernamente en *Medea*<sup>127</sup>; la penúltima gene-

<sup>119</sup> Por el número de Del Río son: I, XII, XIII, III, XIV, XV, XVI, XVII, II, IX, XX, XVIII, XIX.

<sup>120</sup> 1) CIII 208-216 (246-254V, Varro, *ling.*, 7, 33; Cic., *inv.*, 1, 91; *nat. deor.*, 3, 75; *fat.*, 34; *Tusc.*, 1, 45; *Rhet. Her.*, 2, 34; Prisc. *GL* Keil II 320 y 423); 2) Pacuv., *trag.*, 239 Ribbeck; 3) CIX 232-233 (262-263V, Varro, *ling.*, 6, 81; Non., 261, 7; Non., 261, 18); 4) CX 234-236 (284-286V, Prob., *Verg. eg.*, 6, 31-33); 5) — (264-265V, Cic., *Rab. Post.*, 29); 6) CVI 222-223 (257-258V, Cic., *Tusc.*, 3, 63); 7) — (- V, Cic., *Rab. Post.*, 29: “Animum aduerte, & dicto pare-”); 8) — (- V, Cic., *Rab. Post.*, 29: “Praeter rogatum ne querare-”); 9) CXII 239-240 (287-288V, Non., 469, 34; Varro, *ling.*, 7, 9); 10) CXXIV 252 (297V, Non., 183, 14); 11) — (- V, Varro, *ling.*, 7, 2: *ad Hellesponti claustra*); 12) CXI 237-238 (255-256V, Non., 38, 29); 13) CV 219-220 (260-261V, Cic., *fam.*, 7, 6, 1-2); 14) CXIII 241-242 (282-283V, Non., 84, 31); 15) CIV 217-218 (276-277V, Cic., *De orat.*, 3, 217); 16) CV 221 (273V, Cic., *fam.*, 7, 6, 2); 17) CXIV 243 (280V, Non., 170, 8); 18) CXVI 245 (281V, Non., 467, 7); 19) CVII 224 (278V, Cic., *Tusc.*, 4, 69); 20) CXV 244 (279V, Non., 297, 16); 21) CXXV 253 (296V, Prisc. *GL* Keil II 171).

<sup>121</sup> Distingue, efectivamente, dos tragedias: la mayor parte de los textos sería una traducción de la *Medea* de Eurípides que tenemos, pero otra parte no se podría encajar aquí sobre todo el fragmento n.º IX, que tampoco Ribbeck edita junto con los demás. Antonio Agustín editó doce textos; Vahlen, diecisiete; Jocelyn, catorce.

<sup>122</sup> El II, aunque figure también en Del Río o Colonna — pero no en Agustín —, se atribuye actualmente a Pacuvio.

<sup>123</sup> Un texto que suele trasmitirse sin variaciones.

<sup>124</sup> En este caso es esta última la que ha prevalecido sin excepción.

<sup>125</sup> Entre los editores posteriores, L. Müller, Vahlen y Warmington escriben *Mede Colchis*; Ribbeck, *Mede Colchis*; Jocelyn, †*mede*† *cordis*.

<sup>126</sup> En III incluye *Nam* y en IX lee *Adsta*; con lo que, en estos pasajes, tiene el mismo texto que Antonio Agustín. Este, sin embargo, presenta la lectura *Medea Colchis* al margen en XX.

<sup>127</sup> Jocelyn no acepta V (cf. p. 349), pero sí Ribbeck, Vahlen y Warmington de acuerdo con la atribución de Escalígero. Adviértase, a propósito, que la fuente es la misma que VII.

ralmente se excluye, y la última se clasifica en *Nemea*, una tragedia que omite el jesuita. En cuanto a los fragmentos que este es el único en aceptar — VIII, XI, XXI —, el primero pertenece al mismo contexto que V y VII y no suele figurar en las ediciones actuales; tampoco el segundo, que se ha transmitido sin autor<sup>128</sup>; el tercero, en cambio, lo adscriben a *Nemea* ya todos los demás editores antiguos.<sup>129</sup>

A *Menalippa* se le atribuyen seis fragmentos<sup>130</sup>, los mismos y en el mismo orden que Estienne y Colonna, y sin variaciones en el texto. Antonio Agustín, en este caso, altera la disposición.<sup>131</sup> No hay tampoco grandes divergencias con respecto a las ediciones modernas.

También coincide Del Río con Estienne, Antonio Agustín y Colonna en las citas asignadas a *Phoenix*<sup>132</sup>, aunque en este caso no conservan el mismo orden<sup>133</sup> y sí existen divergencias en el texto: en los dos primeros versos de I, un pasaje lleno de dificultades<sup>134</sup>, se encuentra en Del Río ...*addecet, / fortiterque innoxium vacare aduersus...* — con ciertas mejoras que se han aceptado posteriormente<sup>135</sup> — y en Estienne ...*adiecitur fortiter / eúmque innoxium vocare. aduersus...*, igual que en Colonna y Agustín; en V Del Río escribe *nos amici*, mientras que antes aparecía *amici nos*.<sup>136</sup> Esto es lo que se imprime como texto, pero en las anotaciones Del Río cambia el texto de VII escribiendo *sim* en vez de *sum*<sup>137</sup>,

<sup>128</sup> Véase Ribbeck en LVI *ex incertis incertorum fabulis*.

<sup>129</sup> Estienne, Antonio Agustín y Colonna: los dos primeros, por cierto, también editan en esta obra la cita de Non. 183.14.

<sup>130</sup> 1) CXIX 246 (295V, Non., 170, 10 y 176, 2); 2) CXX 247 (291V, Non. 246, 9); 3) CXXI 248-249 (289-290V, Non., 469, 3); 4) CXXIII 251 (293V, Prisc. GL Keil II 516); 5) CXXII 250 (292V, Macr., Sat., 6, 4, 7); 6) CXVIII (294V, Gell., 5, 11, 11-14: *statá formā*).

<sup>131</sup> V, IV, III, I, VI, II.

<sup>132</sup> 1) CXXVI 254-257 (300-303V, Gell., 6, 17, 10); 2) CXXVII 258 (306V, Non., 512, 1; Char., *gramm.*, GL Keil I 197 [257.6 Barwick]); 3) CXXXIII 264 (310V, Non., 518, 3); 4) CXXXI 262 (307V, Non., 510, 32); 5) CXXXII 263 (309V, Non., 514, 12); 6) CXXVIII 259 (298V, Non., 91, 4); 7) CXXX 261 (308V, Non., 507, 22).

<sup>133</sup> Estienne: I, II, III, VI, VII, V, IV; Colonna: I, III, IV, V, VII, VI, II; Agustín: I, II, III, V, IV, VII, VI.

<sup>134</sup> Véanse, por ejemplo, las anotaciones de Ribbeck a los vv. 257-258 y el texto de Jocelyn: “sed uirum uera uirtute uiuere †animatum adiecitur, / fortiterque †innoxium uocare† aduersum aduersarios”.

<sup>135</sup> Así el *addecet* de Carrión, que aceptan Ribbeck, Vahlen y Warmington, o el mantenimiento de *fortiterque* (Vahlen, Warmington, Jocelyn) y la separación de verso.

<sup>136</sup> Como Agustín y Colonna; las ediciones modernas (Ribbeck, Vahlen, Warmington, Jocelyn) presentan *amici uos*.

<sup>137</sup> Además divide el verso (un septenario trocaico) después de *miser* — con lo que se obtiene el final de una línea y un senario yámbico — y explica el pasaje: “miserior sim (ait) si id faxim, de quo quale sit facinus si interroger, scelestum id esse pronuntiem”.

una lectura que recogerían posteriormente Ribbeck, Vahlen, Warmington y Jocelyn atribuyéndosela expresamente.<sup>138</sup> Por lo demás, solo cabe anotar que todas las ediciones antiguas presentan *saeuum* en IV en vez de *saeuiter*, excepto la de Colonna, que lee *Severiter*.

No hay acuerdo sobre la adscripción de *Escipión* a un género literario concreto: probablemente no fue una tragedia y son muchos los que, desde Colonna, no lo incluyen en la obra dramática. Del Río, que la considera una pretexto (p. 166), edita los mismos tres fragmentos<sup>139</sup> que Estienne, aunque con otro orden<sup>140</sup>: Colonna tomaría estos y les añadiría otros cuatro, quedando ya muy cerca de Vahlen.<sup>141</sup> Las escasas diferencias que hay entre Estienne y Del Río acercan el texto de este último a las ediciones modernas: *considerant* por *consederant* en I; en III, *silentio* por *silentia* y *constitère* por *consistere*. En las *opinationes* reconoce que esta última lectura es de Lipsio.

De *Telamon* se recogen los mismos siete fragmentos que en Estienne<sup>142</sup>, pero con otro orden.<sup>143</sup> Colonna ampliaría el listado incluyendo algunos textos hoy generalmente aceptados, como en parte ya había hecho Antonio Agustín.<sup>144</sup> Las diferencias textuales se pueden concretar en las siguientes: en las *opinationes*, a propósito de I, anota *grata est* por *Gratiae ea est*<sup>145</sup>; en III Del Río suprime *more antiquo*<sup>146</sup> y escribe *atque*<sup>147</sup> en vez de *neque* y *contrà*<sup>148</sup> por *contrariorum*; en IV lee *terrae*<sup>149</sup> por *terra*;

<sup>138</sup> Todos salvo Warmington, que no anota nada; Lindsay vol. III p. 816 recoge la lectura en el aparato crítico, aunque imprime *sum*.

<sup>139</sup> Vahlen (cf. pp. CCXV-CCXVII, 212-214) lo editó al margen de tragedias en *Varia*: 1) VII 13 (Gell., 4, 7, 5); 2) VIII 14 (Macr., *Sat.*, 6, 4, 6); 3) VI 9-12 (Macr., *Sat.*, 6, 2, 26).

<sup>140</sup> El de Estienne: III, II, I. Antonio Agustín tiene también estas tres citas con este mismo orden.

<sup>141</sup> La única diferencia es el IV, vv. 4-5 (Paul., *fest.*, 507, 20).

<sup>142</sup> 1) CXXXV 272 (324V, *Fest.*, 218, 2); 2) CXXXVI 273-274 (325-326V, Non., 85, 20); 3) CXL 278 (315V, Non., 505, 35); 4) CXXXVIII 276 (311V, Non., 172, 19); 5) CXXXVII 275 (328V, Non., 159, 38); 6) CXXXIX 277 (327V, Non., 475, 20); 7) CXLI 279 (329V, Diom. *GL* Keil I 382).

<sup>143</sup> Estienne: II, III, IV, V, VI, VII, I.

<sup>144</sup> Especialmente CXXXIV 265-271 (318, 320-323, 316-317V, Cic., *nat. deor.*, 3, 79; *div.*, 1, 132; 2, 104), aunque ambos discrepan con los editores modernos en la parte exacta que hay que atribuir a Ennio.

<sup>145</sup> Un pasaje que corrigen o atetizan los editores posteriores: †*gratiae ea est*† Jocelyn.

<sup>146</sup> Ya los Estienne expresan sus dudas sobre estas palabras; Colonna las suprimiría, pero las mantienen Ribbeck, Vahlen, Warmington y Jocelyn.

<sup>147</sup> Como casi todos los editores posteriores: ambas lecturas se encuentran respaldadas por la tradición manuscrita. Colonna recomienda *atque* en nota al margen, aunque lee *neque* en el texto (p. 223 Hessel). Agustín, por cierto, presenta *nec*.

<sup>148</sup> También es lectura unánime de todos los editores con la excepción de Agustín.

<sup>149</sup> Como todos los editores modernos. Colonna y Agustín, que escriben *terra*, la anotan al margen como *varia lectio*.

en V, *incendit*, siguiendo expresamente a Lipsio, por *sentit* — la solución que finalmente ha prevalecido —; y en VI *in me* por *me in*, una conjetura que todavía merece un lugar en los aparatos críticos de Ribbeck, Vahlen, Lindsay (Nonio) o Jocelyn (p. 130).

*Telephus* está representada con ocho fragmentos<sup>150</sup>, los mismos que presentan editores antiguos como Estienne, Agustín y Colonna, y modernos como Vahlen o Jocelyn, aunque no en el mismo orden.<sup>151</sup> En cuanto a las diferencias en los textos, Del Río se aparta de sus predecesores en cuatro lugares: en I separa los versos después de *dati*, como Ribbeck, Vahlen, Warmington o Jocelyn y a diferencia de Agustín y Colonna, que empiezan línea tras *bello*; en VI escribe *mactassint* — la lectura correcta, que siguen también todos los demás editores —, no *mactassent*; en VII, un verso discutido, omite, como Colonna, el *cum* de Estienne y Agustín<sup>152</sup>; en VIII abandona acertadamente el *medici* de Estienne<sup>153</sup> eligiendo *mendici*.<sup>154</sup>

Otros ocho fragmentos pertenecen a *Thyestes*<sup>155</sup>, los mismos y exactamente en el mismo orden que los de Estienne; también sigue a estos Colonna, pero añade otros tres<sup>156</sup> actualmente aceptados. De estos, por cierto, ya había recopilado Agustín el segundo.<sup>157</sup> Por lo que respecta a divergencias entre el texto de Del Río y el de Estienne, apenas cabe señalar, en el fragmento I, la lectura *inuocant*<sup>158</sup> en vez de *uocant*.

<sup>150</sup> 1) CXLIV 283-284 (334-335V, Non., 15, 3); 2) CXLVII 288 (332V, Non., 429, 1); 3) CXLVIII 289 (336V, Non., 490, 10); 4) CXLII 280 (331V, Fest., 128, 24); 5) CXLV 285-286 (337-338V, Non., 232, 17); 6) CXLVI 287 (333V, Non., 342, 6); 7) CXLIII 281 (330V, Non., 537, 23); 8) CXLIII 282 (339V, Non., 537, 23).

<sup>151</sup> Estienne: I, IV, III, V, VIII, VII, VI, II; Agustín: I, IV, VII, VIII, III, II, VI, V; Colonna: IV, VIII, VII, I, III, V, II, VI.

<sup>152</sup> El texto, con todo, es problemático: Vahlen lee “Cedo et caveo cum vestitus squalida saeptus stola”; Jocelyn, “†cedo et caueo cum uestitus† squalida saeptus stola”.

<sup>153</sup> Agustín en este caso tiene *Medi* en el texto y *medici* al margen; Colonna presenta en el texto *medici*, pero anota que la lectura correcta es *mendici*.

<sup>154</sup> Ribbeck y Müller atribuyen la conjetura a Paulus Leopardus, *Emendationes*, VIII 24 (= Gruter, *Lampas*, vol. III (1604) p. 168); Vahlen y Jocelyn, a Iunius. Ni Del Río ni Colonna mencionan nada en los comentarios.

<sup>155</sup> 1) CLIII 301 (345V, Apul., *Mun.*, 33; Fest., 400, 17; Cic., *nat. deor.*, 2, 4; 2, 64-65; 3, 10; 3, 40); 2) CLV 303 (361V, Non., 97, 29); 3) CLIX 307 (360V, Non., 268, 9); 4) CLIV 302 (353V, Non., 90, 13); 5) CLVIII 306 (346-347V, Non., 261, 13); 6) CLVI 304 (344V, Non., 110, 11); 7) CLVII 305 (341V, Non., 255, 25); 8) CLX 308 (340V, Non., 369, 29).

<sup>156</sup> CLI 300 (348V, Cic., *orat.*, 184); CL 296-299 (362-365V, Cic., *Tusc.*, 1, 106); CXLIX 293-295 (349-351V, Cic. *Tusc.*, 3, 26).

<sup>157</sup> A este le siguen los ya conocidos I, VIII, III, V, VI, II, IV, VII.

<sup>158</sup> Aunque Colonna registra la variante al margen, todos los editores menos Ribbeck, L. Müller y Warmington leen *vocant*.

Una lista de fragmentos *ex incertis Ennii tragoediis*<sup>159</sup> remata la recopilación de textos. Entre ellos hay alguno digno de mención, como el I, del que ya en esta época se discutía si adjudicárselo a Ennio o a Nevio (*Opinationes* p. 167), y el IV, que Del Río, de acuerdo con criterios actuales, no clasificaría en *Cressae*, como Colonna. Más adelante expresa sus dudas sobre si el XXII, que se suele localizar modernamente en *Telamón*, al igual que el siguiente, puede en realidad pertenecer a las *Sátiras* o sobre la forma de reconstruirlo. Sobre el XXIII, manifiesta el jesuita sus sospechas de que sea parte de *Evéméro*. En XLVI propone enmendar *morares* en *muneres*. El XLIX es en realidad el XVI de *Hectoris lytra* introducido por *in lustris*; se trata, naturalmente, de un error. Entre los últimos comentarios, se encuentra la declaración de que no ha incluido *Ambracia* por considerarla una comedia y orienta al lector para buscar los restos en Nonio. Son muy numerosas las divergencias en cuanto a los

<sup>159</sup> 1) Naev., *Bellum Punicum* fr. 60 Strzelecki; 2) CXC 362 (420V, Varro, *ling.*, 7, 13); 3) CXCI 363 (121V / 362R) Varro, *ling.*, 7, 16; 4) CCXIV 387 (382V, Non., 205, 23); 5) CXCIV 367 (396V, Varro, *ling.*, 7, 49); 6) Naev., *Com.*, 107 Ribbeck; 7) CXCV 368 (232V, Varro, *ling.*, 7, 87); 8) CXCVI 369 (397V, Varro, *ling.*, 7, 89); 9) CXCVII 370 (417-418V, Varro, *ling.*, 7, 93); 10) CLXXIII 335 (205V, Cic., *fin.*, 2, 41); 11) CLXXXI 347 (18V, Cic., *off.*, 1, 61 y Fest. 439, 10); 12) XIV 17 (23V, Cic., *Tusc.*, 4, 19); 13) CLXXVI 341 (395V / 378R) Cic., *Tusc.*, 4, 70); 14) CLXV 313-315 (398-400V, Cic., *off.*, 1, 51) 15) CLXIX 320 (404-405V, Cic., *off.*, 1, 26); 16) CLXXXII 348 (402V, Cic., *off.*, 2, 23); 17) CLXXXIII 349 (409V, Cic., *off.*, 2, 62); 18) CLXXXIV 350 (403V, Cic., *off.*, 3, 104); 19) CLXXXV 351 (210V, Cic., *Lael.*, 64); 20) CLXVI 316-318 (142-144V, Cic., *De orat.*, 1, 199); 21) XIV 20 (26V, Cic., *fin.*, 4, 62); 22) CXXXIV 266-269 (320-323V, Cic., *nat. deor.*, 3, 79); 23) CXXXIV 270-271 (316-317V, Cic., *nat. deor.*, 3, 79); 24) Enn., *ann.*, 4 Skutsch (8V, Cic., *ac.*, 2, II 88); 25) CCXXI 396 (410V, Serv., *Aen.*, 1, 4); 26) CCXXIV 400 (427V, Serv., *Aen.*, 6, 686); 27) CLXXII 334 (176V, Cic., *orat.*, 160); 28) Enn., *ann.*, 504 Skutsch (477V, Cic., *orat.*, 157); 29) Enn., *incerta*, 1 Vahlen (Cic., *orat.*, 157); 30) CLXXVII 342 (401V, Cic., *nat. deor.*, 2, 65); 31) Enn., *incerta*, 16 Vahlen (Cic., *nat. deor.*, 2, 49); 32) — (12V, Gell., 19, 8, 6 y Non., 129, 24); 33) XXXV 99 de *Andrómaca* (105V, Varro, *ling.*, 7, 82); 34) XX 64 (53V, Varro, *ling.*, 7, 82); 35) CXCI 365-366 (Enn., *ann.*, 9V, Varro, *ling.*, 7, 48: “quæque cæruleo freto orta, nare cæpta” — en el manuscrito F de Varrón, según Jocelyn: “quæque in corpore causa ceruleo cælo orta nare ceptat” —); 36) CCVIII 381 (52V, Paul., *fest.*, 507, 12); 37) Enn., *ann.*, fr. espurios 12, v. 13 Skutsch (628V, Fest., 128, 22); 38) CCV 378 (428V, Fest., 482, 8); 39) CCI 374 (407V, Paul., *fest.*, 110, 16); 40) CCXIII 386 (386-387V, Non., 197, 28); 41) Enn., *ann.*, 151, 613-614 Skutsch (611-612V, Diom. *GL* Keil I 385); 42) Enn., *incerta*, Vahlen VIII v. 8 (Prisc. *GL* Keil II 383); 43) CCXII 385 (383V, Non., 196, 29); 44) Enn., *ann.*, 81, 534 Skutsch (513V, Serv., *Aen.*, 12, 499); 45) CCXVIII 393-392 (391-390V, Diom. *GL* Keil I 447); 46) CCXVII 391 (424V, Diom. *GL* Keil I 400); 47) Enn., *ann.*, 47, 496-497 Skutsch (467-468V, Char., *gramm.*, *GL* Keil I 201 [261 Barwick]); 48) Enn., *ann.*, 112, 574 Skutsch (560V, Aug., *Trin.*, 13, 3, 6); 49) Fragmento 16 de *Hectoris lytra* repetido; 50) XXVIII 95 (376V, Gell., 5, 15, 9); 51) Enn., *incerta*, XIV 14 Vahlen (Isid., *Orig.*, 11, 1, 109).

fragmentos de localización incierta entre una edición como la Del Río y una actual, como la de Jocelyn: en la antigua se encuentran textos que suelen atribuirse a obras determinadas<sup>160</sup>, otros muchos se localizan en *Anales*<sup>161</sup> y algunos incluso pertenecen en realidad a otros autores.<sup>162</sup> Si se le compara con Estienne, queda clara la independencia de criterio de Del Río, pero también resulta evidente que trabajó sobre esta edición.<sup>163</sup>

De todo lo anterior se pueden extraer algunas conclusiones sobre la naturaleza e influencias de los fragmentos de tragedias ennianas editados por Martín del Río. En primer lugar se advierte que no hay relación de dependencia entre estos y los inéditos de Antonio Agustín, ni tampoco con la edición de Colonna (1590), posiblemente porque, si bien esta apareció antes de la publicación del *Syntagma* (1593), el libro de Del Río estaba ya redactado por aquellas fechas, según indica la datación del prólogo (1589). Cabría resaltar aquí, por cierto, el excelente trabajo filológico de Antonio Agustín en lo que respecta a Ennio<sup>164</sup>, aunque desgraciadamente se malograra por haber permanecido inédito durante tantos siglos.

En segundo lugar, pero sin dejar de atender a lo anterior, convendría matizar los juicios de Vahlen sobre nuestro autor: Martín del Río parte indudablemente de la edición de los Estienne, la única que conoció, y sus aportaciones distan mucho del trascendental libro de Colonna, con el que es casi inevitable compararlo; a pesar de todo, se aparta suficientemente de su antecedente y, mediante la aplicación de numerosas conjeturas tanto propias como ajenas<sup>165</sup>, llega a articular una auténtica edición propia con variantes que en no pocos lugares mejoran el texto enniano.<sup>166</sup> La fortuna quiso que, mientras transcurría todo el proceso de edición del

<sup>160</sup> Además de lo ya dicho sobre *Telamón*, Jocelyn clasifica en *Alejandro* el XXXIV; en *Alcmeón* XII, XXI; y en *Andrómaca* XXXIII y L.

<sup>161</sup> XXIV, XXVIII, XXIX, XXXI, XXXVII, XLI, XLII, XLIV, XLVII, XLVIII, LI.

<sup>162</sup> A Nevio el I y VI.

<sup>163</sup> No son textos totalmente comparables, pues los Estienne reúnen fragmentos de varias obras y Del Río se centra en las tragedias, pero, por poner un ejemplo, el jesuita se aparta considerablemente de las primeras páginas de Estienne (128-129), en las que aparecen los fragmentos *ex incertis tragoediis* de Del Río números XXII, XXIII, — (*Anales* v. 3 Skutsch, 6V), XXIV, II de *Ilíone*, III de *Ilíone*, X; en cambio, en toda la página siguiente sigue estrictamente el orden de sus predecesores: XI, XII, XIII, XIV, XV, XVI, XVII, XVIII, XIX.

<sup>164</sup> Por poner un ejemplo, véase lo dicho en las notas 38 y 75.

<sup>165</sup> Reconocidas expresamente las de su amigo Justo Lipsio; calladas casi todas las demás, como las de Escalígero: en los comentarios se alude simplemente a *critici*.

<sup>166</sup> Véase, por ejemplo, lo dicho sobre *Cresfontes* o *Fénix*.



*Syntagma*, viera la luz la magistral obra de Colonna y que las contribuciones del jesuita quedaran así oscurecidas, pero en cualquier caso es evidente que Del Río se replanteó todos los problemas de edición de los testimonios trágicos y, por consiguiente, debe considerarse su labor en la historia de la recuperación de la obra de Ennio.

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OLD NORSE SAGA VERSUS NEO-LATIN HISTORY WRITING:  
SOME ASPECTS OF THE STYLE IN TORFÆUS' *HISTORIA  
RERUM NORVEGICARUM* (1711)

## 1. Introduction

The year 1711 saw the publication of a comprehensive history of Norway, *Historia Rerum Norvegicarum*, written by the Icelander Tormod Torfæus (1636-1716).<sup>1</sup> This impressive work was the outcome of a project financed by three successive Danish kings, Frederik III (1648-70), Christian V (1670-99) and Frederik IV (1699-1730).

Norway had been under Danish rule since 1397, and in Torfæus' day the two old kingdoms were described as twin realms. However, in the great Latin works on Danish history, written at the instigation of King Frederik's predecessor, Christian IV, Norway was barely mentioned.<sup>2</sup> It was King Frederik's ambition that the history of the ancient Norwegian kingdom should also be presented to non-Scandinavian readers, and he chose Torfæus to do the job.

Most of the primary sources for such a project would be texts written in the Old Norse language, mainly sagas.<sup>3</sup> In the seventeenth century,

<sup>1</sup> Torfæus' biography was published 1788: John Erichsen, *Thormod Torfesens Levnetsbeskrivelse* (Copenhagen: Schultz). Torfæus has been given a brief presentation in *A History of Nordic Neo-Latin Literature*, ed. Minna Skafte Jensen (Odense: Odense University Press, 1995), in two articles: Inger Ekrem, 'Norway', pp. 65-95 (p. 81), and Sigurdur Pétursson, 'Iceland', pp. 96-128 (pp. 112-114).

<sup>2</sup> See Karen Skovgaard-Petersen: 'The first post-medieval history of Norway in Latin: the *Historia Rerum Norvegicarum* (Copenhagen 1711) by Tormod Torfæus', in *Germania latina — Latinitas teutonica: Politik, Wissenschaft, humanistische Kultur vom späten Mittelalter bis in unsere Zeit*, eds. Eckhard Kessler – Heinrich C. Kuhn, Humanistische Bibliothek: Texte und Abhandlungen, I. 54, 2 vols (Munich: W. Fink, 2003), II, pp. 707-720 (p. 709). See also <http://www.phil-hum-ren.uni-muenchen.de/GermLat/Acta/Skovgaard-Petersen.htm>.

<sup>3</sup> According to Tucker, "the term Old Norse embraces the various North Germanic dialects of Medieval Scandinavia" cf. John Tucker, 'Introduction: Sagas of the Icelanders', in *Sagas of the Icelanders: A Book of Essays*, ed. John Tucker (New York – London: Garland Publishing, 1989), pp. 1-26 (p. 2).

*The Chronicle of the Kings of Norway*, written by Snorre Sturlason (1178/79-1241), was printed in the original and in Danish and Swedish translations.<sup>4</sup> However, many other sagas existed only in manuscripts and in the original language. The Norwegian language had changed considerably over the centuries, so that a Norwegian in the 17<sup>th</sup> century could not understand Old Norse without extensive studies. The Icelandic language, on the other hand, had changed much less, so that an Icelandic could read the source material. This was probably the main reason why King Frederik III chose an Icelandic instead of a Norwegian to write the history of Norway. Torfæus was an experienced reader of saga texts, and from 1660 had been employed as royal 'Translateur' in Nordic History, translating sagas from the Old Norse into Danish.<sup>5</sup>

Saga as a genre is an important, original Icelandic contribution to world literature.<sup>6</sup> Iceland – also called 'the saga island' – had been populated from Norway during the era of the first settling, the so-called '*landnám*' [taking of land]; the Icelanders therefore felt that their roots were in Norway. There are two main groups of sagas: sagas that treat historical subjects – Norwegian kings, or rich and influential men and families in Norway or in Iceland – and sagas characterized by myth and fiction. The most important sagas were written down during the 13<sup>th</sup> century, and described events that had taken place much earlier, in the so-called saga period (930-1030 AD. Snorre's *Chronicle* holds a special position; it begins with the (mythological) origin of the Norwegian people and ends with an important battle in 1177. Thus, also texts related to Norwegian history were written down on Iceland. One explanation is presented in the preface to the *Historia Rerum Norvegicarum*:<sup>7</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Peder Claussøn Friis' translation into Danish/Norwegian from 1559 was edited by Ole Worm, Copenhagen 1633. Johan Peringskiöld edited Snorre's *Chronicle* in 1697 with translations into Swedish and Latin.

<sup>5</sup> Erichsen, *Torfesens Levnetsbeskrivelse*, p. 25.

<sup>6</sup> See for instance Peter Hallberg, *Den isländska sagan*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Verdandis skriftserie, 6 (Stockholm: Lärmedelsförlagen, 1969), p. 1.

<sup>7</sup> Torfæus fell seriously ill in 1706 and lost his memory almost completely, according to Rasmus Nyerup in his introduction to Erichsen, *Torfesens Levnetsbeskrivelse*, unpaginated (p. 2). The four volumes were prepared for printing by his staff, whereas a planned fifth volume was never completed. The preface was written by his secretary, Thorleifur Halldórson, according to Kr. Kålund, 'Fortale', in Arne Magnusson: *Brevveksling med Torfæus*, ed. Kristian Kålund (Copenhagen – Christiania: Gyldendalske Boghandel, Nordisk Forlag), pp. V-XXXII (p. XX). Nevertheless, the preface bears Torfæus' name and represents his method; it is treated here as his work.

In ipsa Norvegia minus historiarum studium, minor rerum gestarum, si poetarum carmina excipias, ad posteritatem tradendarum cura fuit. Quippe gens fortis & bellicosa, armisque tota vacans, res praeclaras gessisse contenta, literarumque minus curiosa, scribendi de se materiam aliis reliquit: cum vice versa Islandi, ut Saxo de iis in praefatione ad Historiam suam scribit, *cunctarum nationum res gestas cognovisse, memoriaeque mandare, voluptatis loco reputarent; non minoris gloriae iudicantes, alienas virtutes disserere, quam proprias exhibere*.<sup>8</sup>

In 1662 Torfæus was sent to Iceland with a letter from King Frederik III empowering him to purchase ancient manuscripts and historical documents. As a result, important manuscripts such as the so-called *Codex Regius* were sent from Iceland to the King in Copenhagen. In this connection Torfæus invented the Norwegian names for many important manuscripts, among others, *Morkinskinna* [The rotten leather] and *Fagerskinna* [The beautiful leather]. In 1665 Torfæus married a wealthy widow, who had a farm called 'Stangeland' on the island of Karmøy in the southwestern part of Norway. From that time, Stangeland was his home. He brought with him the important source material, and also the King's original medieval manuscripts, and he employed a staff of scribes.

Among the historical works written and published by Torfæus is the first general study of America, or Vineland, as the Vikings called it (1705).<sup>9</sup> But his main work is *Historia Rerum Norvegicarum* in four large volumes, each comprising ten books. The number of folio pages is 2000, and to date, except for small parts, no translation into any language has been published.

## 2. Genre and style

To begin with, Torfæus' great history was used and appreciated as *the* Norwegian history. But in the 19<sup>th</sup> century it encountered criticism, and in 1929 the Norwegian historian Halvdan Koht wrote that Torfæus narrated odds and ends from all kinds of sources, without critical assessment and without thinking of anything but the mere chronicling of events.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Thormodus Torfæus, *Historia Rerum Norvegicarum*, 4 vols (Copenhagen: Joachim Schmitgen, 1711), I, fol. C2v.

<sup>9</sup> Torggrim Titlestad, 'Tormod Torfæus, biografisk portrett', in *Tormod Torfæus — ei innføring*, ed. T. Titlestad (Hafrsfjord: Erling Skjalgssonselskapet, 2001), pp. 9-23 (p. 15).

<sup>10</sup> Halvdan Koht, 'Gerhard Schøning', in *Våre høvdinge*, 2 vols, ed. H. Koht (Trondhjem: F. Brun, 1929), I, 38-44 (pp. 38-39).

We meet the same kind of criticism in Inger Ekrem's article on Norwegian Neo-Latin literature from 1995: she writes that Torfæus "was well versed in old Norse manuscripts, whose reliability he trusted blindly."<sup>11</sup> Most important, Torfæus did not reject the possibility of writing about the epoch before Harald Fairhair (late 9<sup>th</sup> century) because of the lack (as later historians saw it) of reliable sources. But it is too simple to say that he trusted the sagas blindly; in fact, he organized the sagas into four categories, according to their authority as historical sources and the proportion of mythological material.<sup>12</sup> The logical consequence would be to treat the categories in different ways. In some cases, Torfæus makes attempts to interpret the fables, for instance the one that presents Day [Old Norse: Dagr] as the son of Night and Delling:

Non... dissimulabo, valde dubium videri, an haec fabula aliud intendat, quam ut demonstret, ex diversis principiis, calido & frigido, exque materia prima indigestoque chao lucis beneficio omnia provenisse; quod si veram historiam sub his involucris contexi largiamur, nullum tamen inde certum tempus elicitur, sive de accessu Norvii, sive Dellingi in septentrionem...<sup>13</sup>

A similar opinion regarding the fabulous material is often repeated in the *Historia Rerum Norvegicarum*. Torfæus finds that large parts of the narrative in question seem to be fictitious and the stuff of fairytales; he has, nevertheless, chosen to present it the way it was transmitted from olden days. The reason for this choice was that, in his opinion, the truth lay hidden under a veil of fabulous or mythological material, *sub fabularum involucris*.<sup>14</sup>

No comprehensive study of Torfæus' style has yet been undertaken, but in a recent paper Karen Skovgaard-Petersen has compared Torfæus' style with that of a 16<sup>th</sup>-century author of Danish history, Hans Svaning.<sup>15</sup> According to Skovgaard-Petersen, the *authority* in Torfæus' text lies primarily in its comprehensive scholarly apparatus. Information is documented through quotations and references, in contrast to the classical ideal

<sup>11</sup> Ekrem, 'Norway', p. 81.

<sup>12</sup> Torfæus, *Historia Rerum*, I, fol. D v.

<sup>13</sup> Torfæus, *Historia Rerum*, I, 133.

<sup>14</sup> The phrase was not coined by Torfæus, but can be traced back to the Renaissance. See Vibeke Roggen, 'Sub fabularum involucris: Tormod Torfæus som kritisk historiker', in *Kunnskap og kunnskapsformidling på 1700-tallet*, eds. Solveig Schult Ulriksen et al. (Oslo: Norsk selskap for 1700-tallsstudier, 2004), pp. 93-103.

<sup>15</sup> Karen Skovgaard-Petersen, 'Fortæller, stil og autoritet i Svannings Danmarkshistorie og Torfæus' Norgeshistorie', *Rhetorica Scandinavica*, 28 (2003), 9-21.

of a uniform style.<sup>16</sup> As the categories of texts that are quoted and/or referred to and thus contribute to the scholarly, intellectual style, Skovgaard-Petersen mentions Old Norse sagas, classical authors and contemporary historians, and she finds that Torfæus quotes the latter both in support of his own point of view and also in order to argue against their opinions.<sup>17</sup>

However, the sagas were clearly regarded by Torfæus as the primary sources, and they therefore had a completely different status from that of contemporary historians. This might lead one to expect that Torfæus would treat these kinds of material in completely different ways, with possible effects on his style.

Here it may be useful to point out that a chief characteristic of the style of the sagas, a storytelling genre, is a special kind of pithy rhetoric. For instance, a couple of words may suffice to demonstrate the manliness of the speaker. Here is an example: One morning a man came to a window and saw an enemy lying in bed. Without hesitating he threw a spear at his enemy. The spear went straight through the man and into the bed. The last words of the dying man were: "A good hit!" Direct speech is common in the sagas, but pointed utterances also occur in indirect speech and narrative passages. One such example is found in *Grette's Saga*, Chapter 13, where a man is leaving by boat. The storyteller comments: "Everybody wished him a good voyage, but nobody wished him a safe return." A further salient feature of the saga is the use of brief sentences. Döring compares saga style with the periods employed in Latin: "Überdies sind die Sätze ausserordentlich kurz; die kunstvolle Periode des Griechischen oder Lateinischen fehlt vollständig."<sup>18</sup>

The aim of the present paper is to examine the relation between Torfæus' use of saga material and his style. I shall try to demonstrate that he does not make any attempt to incorporate what I will call the 'Viking rhetoric' from his source material in his text, and discuss possible reasons for this. The examples are taken from one of the less well known sagas, *Orvar-Odd's Saga*, and are linked by a brief outline of the narrative. *Orvar-Odd's Saga* is usually characterized as a '*fornaldersaga*', which means a 'saga of olden times'. The term denotes mythic-heroic sagas about pre-historic times, the period before the Norwegian emigration to Iceland.

<sup>16</sup> Skovgaard-Petersen, "Fortæller...", p. 19.

<sup>17</sup> Skovgaard-Petersen, "Fortæller...", p. 19.

<sup>18</sup> Bernhard Döring, *Bemerkungen über Typus und Stil der Isländischen Saga*, 1. Theil (Leipzig: Osterprogramm des Nicolaigymnasiums in Leipzig, 1877), p. 41.

### 3. Orvar-Odd's saga — narrative and style

The name Orvar-Odd means Odd of the Arrow, since *orvar* is genitive singular of Old Norse *or*, arrow. Odd had a fancy for arrows as a child, and as an adult he received three magical arrows as an inheritance. These arrows left the string by themselves, always hit their targets and never needed to be searched for.<sup>19</sup> The tale of the magical arrows is one example of mythical and fairytale elements in this 'saga of olden times'. Another is the power that members of Odd's family have over the winds — a power that turns out useful. One feature of Odd *as a hero* is his moral attitude: for instance, when on one occasion his friends go ashore in order to plunder some elderly women, he refuses to participate. It should also be noted that heroes like Odd are better looking than ordinary men.

The saga begins as follows: '*Grímr hét maðr ok var kallaðr loðinkinni*.'<sup>20</sup> [A man named Grim was called hairy-cheeks.] This is the usual way to begin a saga: with the presentation of a main character, or a forefather of the protagonist. The most important words come first: '*Grímr hét maðr*', where a one-word verbal form expresses the man's name. There is not, I think, a verb with exactly the same function in English, but there is, for instance, in German: *heissen*. The meaning could be given in different ways in English, of course. But if we start by saying: "A man was called Grim", we use the same verb as the saga has in the next part of the sentence: *ok* [and] *var kallaðr* [was called] *loðinkinni*.

One stylistic trait of the saga is that whenever the same kind of situation appears, the same expression is used. "*Grímr hét maðr*": many sagas begin this way, and this is also the formula for introducing new characters. The saga has a corresponding formula for a final appearance: the last time a certain character is mentioned, this fact is made clear at once by

<sup>19</sup> *Orvar-Odd's Saga*, ch. 4. I have used the following editions: *Orvar-Odds saga*, ed. R.C. Boer (Leiden: Brill, 1888); *Orvar-Odds Saga: Netútgáfan* (see <http://www.snerpa.is/net/forn/orvar.htm>); *Orvar-Odds Saga. Die Saga vom Pfeile-Odd*, translated into German by Bernd Menge et al., Altnordische Bibliothek, 8 (Leverkusen: Literaturverlag Norden, 1990); *Soga om Orvar-Odd*. Translated into Norwegian by Erik Eggen, Norrøne bokverk 40 (Oslo: Det norske samlaget, 1962).

<sup>20</sup> The quotations have been taken from the internet edition, *Orvar-Odds Saga. Netútgáfan* (see the preceding note). Boer's critical edition from 1888 is a parallel edition of two important manuscripts, *M* (in Copenhagen) and *S* (in Stockholm). Not only the text, but also the chapter numbering differs, but the differences are not important to the present study. All translations are mine. Certain specific Old Norse letters are not used in this article. The two letters *th* are used instead of the letter for the English sound *th* in the word *thing*; besides, ordinary *o* is used for the *o* with ogonek. The letter *ð*, used here, is pronounced like *th* in the word *those*.

the expression "and he is now out of the saga". Thus, both the entrance and the exit of a character are emphasized.

As indicated by the title of the saga, Grim is not the protagonist. However, he is the protagonist's father, and family relations are important in the saga. Very often the presentation of the main character begins with his father or grandfather.

The story of Orvar-Odd is presented in the first volume of Torfæus' opus, a volume that treats the history of Norway before what is usually called 'the gathering of Norway into one realm', an event that took place in the late 9<sup>th</sup> century. Torfæus has a different focus, emphasizing instead the establishment of the monarchy (which is, of course, another aspect of the same thing). In the introduction to *Orvar-Odd's Saga*, Torfæus discusses some problems connected to the character of Orvar-Odd: the sources present as the same man one who — according to Torfæus' calculations — lived in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century and another who participated in a battle about 735. Torfæus' theory is that it must be two men by the same name who have been confused. And he concludes this part of the introduction as follows:

Quicquid horum sit, ego fidem liberasse contentus, gesta huius, uti accepi, exponam.<sup>21</sup>

Then he proceeds to the presentation of the main characters, starting as follows:

Oddi parentes avique, iisdem nominibus cum illis, qui seculo octavo familiae Hrafnistinae magnam partem postea in Islandiam transmiserunt, hic assignantur. Pater Grimus Hirsutigena... [Grim with the hirsute cheeks...]<sup>22</sup>

While the saga just presents Odd's parents and grandparents, Torfæus *explains* that he is going to present them. This change is related to the change of genre, to a more theoretical approach. The reader soon realises that Odd was not born on his father's farm. Grim and his pregnant wife Lopthaena are on a long voyage from Ravnesta to Viken, where Lopthaena's father has recently died.<sup>23</sup> As she is an only child and he was a wealthy man, the couple are on their way to Viken in order to come into the inheritance. But on their way there the birth starts, and they have to go ashore. As chance would have it, they land on the property of a certain Ingjald, who treats them very well. A beautiful boy was born and was

<sup>21</sup> Torfæus, *Historia Rerum*, I, 264.

<sup>22</sup> Torfæus, *Historia Rerum*, I, 264. Ravnesta was a place near Trondheim.

<sup>23</sup> Viken was the old name for the area surrounding Oslo.



given the name of Odd. On the third day Lopthaena is ready to travel on. But Ingjald wants something in return for his services: nothing less than the baby boy. The parents agree to this and continue their voyage.

Odd grows up together with Ingjald's son, Asmund. The years go by; Asmund has become tall and strong and handsome, but Odd surpasses him in every way. The two boys have always been best friends, even if Odd is quite spoiled; the saga says that "Ásmundr thjónaði honum í hvívetna" [Asmund served him in every way].

We meet Odd again as a young man, in a situation where his foster father asks him and Asmund to go and invite to the house a soothsayer or witch named Heid. Odd refuses to go, and states that it will be totally against his wishes if Heid is invited.<sup>24</sup> But Ingjald makes Asmund go. This is how the saga presents Odd's reaction:

"Geri skal ek thann hlut nokkurn," sagði Oddr, "at thér thykki eigi betr en mér thykkir nú thetta."<sup>25</sup>

["I shall do something," said Odd, "that you will not like any better than I now like this."]

In the saga this remark arouses interest through its brevity and the fact that the reader does not get any information as to what form of action Odd has in mind. But Odd's planned action is directly related to Ingjald's, and the reader must imagine that it will lead to a certain anxiety on Ingjald's part as to what Odd's next move will be. Torfæus' version is equally brief:

... indignatus Oddus, injuriamque sibi fieri questus, se pariter educatori aegre facturum minatus est.<sup>26</sup>

Much is lost, in my opinion, through the change into indirect speech alone. But Torfæus does more: whereas the content of Odd's planned action is open in the saga version, he presents what we may call an analysis. Odd makes an equation between his own feelings 'now' and the foster father's feelings later on. In the Old Norse original the threat is in the air, absolutely, but it seems to work more strongly in that way than when its extent is explicitly equated with the original 'injury'.

In Torfæus' version Odd is angry, he complains (*questus*) about an injustice (*iniuriam*) that has been done to him, he wants to annoy (*aegre facturum*) his foster father equally (neither more nor less), and he makes threats (*minatus est*). This interpretation does not correspond very well to Odd's words in direct speech, and not even to Odd's retaliation (see

<sup>24</sup> The resistance against witchcraft may be seen as a Christian trait in the saga.

<sup>25</sup> *Orvar-Odd's saga*, ch. 2.

<sup>26</sup> Torfæus, *Historia Rerum*, I, 265.

below). It seems that Torfæus has not been careful enough in his work on this passage. Perhaps, indeed, carelessness was characteristic of his way of working: Johnsen has studied his voluminous Danish saga translations (in manuscript form in the Royal Library) and has found that they are characterized by haste and, as it seems, carelessness as well.<sup>27</sup>

As scholars have pointed out long ago — for instance, Döring 1877 — direct speech is a typical feature of the saga.<sup>28</sup> Dialogue is used in a multiplicity of situations, and thus people speak when one would not expect them to. For instance, the characters speak while fighting, a trait that the sagas have in common with the Homeric poems.<sup>29</sup> And more generally, it seems likely that classical literature exerted an influence on the sagas through early contact.<sup>30</sup>

Torfæus' stylistic changes are further illustrated in the following example. Heid has foretold the destiny of Ingjald and of everyone else in the house, except Odd, who is hiding in a bed. Heid asks if she has met everybody yet, making it evident that she knows about the man in the bed.

Thá settist sá upp, er thar hafdi legit, ok tók til orða ok mælti: "That er rétt, sem thér syndist, at thetta er maðr ok thar sá maðr, at that vill, at thú thegir sem skjótast ok fleiprir eigi um mitt ráð, thví at ek trúi eigi thví, sem thú segir." Oddr hafði einn búinn sprota í hendi ok mælti: "Thenna sprota mun ek færa á nasir thér, ef thú spáir nokkuru um minn hag."<sup>31</sup>

[Then he, who had been lying there, sat up and spoke: "It is correct as you think, that this is a man, and even a man who wants you to stop talking at once, and not speak nonsense about my fate, because I do not believe what you say." Odd had a twig ready in his hand and said: "With this twig I shall hit you on the nose, if you foretell anything about my condition."]

Torfæus' version describes Odd's attitude towards the witch, namely that he does not believe in what she says. Odd's threat, however, is omitted.

... Oddus exsiliens, vetabat eam, quae sibi eventura essent, edicere, nullam enim se fidem ei habere, nec praesagiis eius ponderis quicquam statuere.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Arne Odd Johnsen, 'Torfæus, Tormod', in *Norsk biografisk leksikon*, XVI (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1969), pp. 491-498 (p. 492). Another explanation — suggested to me by Torggrim Titlestad — is that Torfæus made quick translations in order to present the content of the sagas to the King for the first time.

<sup>28</sup> Döring, *Bemerkungen*, p. 29.

<sup>29</sup> Döring, *Bemerkungen*, p. 31.

<sup>30</sup> Ursula Dronke, 'Classical influence on early Norse literature', in *Classical Influences on European Culture A.D. 500-1500*, ed. Robert R. Bolgar (London: Cambridge University Press, 1971), pp. 143-149.

<sup>31</sup> *Orvar-Odd's saga*, ch. 2.

<sup>32</sup> Torfæus, *Historia Rerum*, I, 266.

In this version Odd's threat must be understood from Heid's response to it, taken from the saga: "Non terrebis me, Odd".<sup>33</sup>

In spite of Odd's threats Heid foretells his fate. She says that he is going to become a very old man — 300 years — but that his death is going to be caused by a horse owned by the family named Faxe. Even though Odd has said that he does not believe Heid's words, and even though he is a hero, his actions show that he believes in witchcraft after all: he strikes Faxe dead, and Asmund helps him bury the horse in a deep grave. Nevertheless, as the saga develops, we shall learn that he will lose the struggle against Heid's power and against fate. We return to the story in the situation where Odd and Asmund have just finished burying the horse.

Their fara heim eptir that ok til fundar við Ingjald. "Skip vil ek mér láta fá," sagði Oddr. "Hvert skal fara?" sagði Ingjaldr. "Burt ætla ek heðan," sagði Oddr, "af Berurjóðri ok koma hér aldri, meðan ek lifi." "That muntu eigi gera vilja," sagði Ingjaldr, "thví at that gerir thú svá, at mér thykkir verst, eða hvat viltu hafa manna með thé?" "Vit Ásmundr skulum fara tveir," sagði Oddr. "Aptr vil ek, at thú sendir Ásmundr skjótt," sagði Ingjaldr. "Eigi skal hann heldr aptr koma en ek," sagði Oddr. "That gerir thú illa," sagði Ingjaldr. "That skal ek gera, er ek ætla, at thé muni verst líka, fyrir that, at thú bautt hingat volunni, ok vissir thú, at mér thótti that verst," sagði Oddr.<sup>34</sup>

[Later they went home and met Ingjald. Odd said: "I want to have a ship." "Where are you going?" said Ingjald. "I want to go away from here, away from Berurjod," said Odd, "and I am never coming back, as long as I live." "You won't do that," Ingjald said, "since thereby you do what seems to be worst for me. And whom do you want to have with you?" "Asmund and I are going away together," said Odd. "I want you to send Asmund back quickly," said Ingjald. "He shall return no more than I," said Odd. "There you do something bad," said Ingjald. "I shall do as I have planned: what you dislike the most, because you invited the witch here, and you knew that I found that the worst," said Odd.]

In this passage the saga has a couple of brief sayings of the type I have called Viking rhetoric: a duel in direct speech, distinguished by — in this case — sentences loaded with implicit meaning. Torfæus renders the actual conversation in indirect speech:

Nec longum tempus intercessit, cum navigium a nutritio comitemque filium deposcit, aegreque impetrat; praesertim cum profiteretur, se inde

<sup>33</sup> Torfæus, *Historia Rerum*, I, 266.

<sup>34</sup> *Orvar-Odd's saga*, ch. 3.

sine utriusque reditus spe profecturum, idque in ultionem arcessitae feminae veneficae.<sup>35</sup>

The two versions are very different. One example is that in the saga Odd does not ask his foster father's permission to take Asmund with him; he says: "Asmund and I are going away together." The way Torfæus renders the meaning is misleading, and the same is the case with his treatment of the potential return. While Odd in the saga states that he himself will not return as long as he lives, and that Asmund will return no more than himself, Torfæus introduces the aspect of *spes*. One function of the changes made by Torfæus here is to abbreviate. However, by the change from two sentences into one, the fine point of the saga — *I shall not return, and then, he shall return no more than I* — is lost. Also Ingjald's utterance, "There you do something bad." ["That gerir þú illa."], is pregnant with meaning, and is omitted by Torfæus. In addition, Torfæus even misinterprets parts of these events as the saga relates them.

Even though *Orvar-Odd's Saga* is not a very long text, it follows Odd through various adventures. He brings Asmund to Ravnesta, the home of his biological family. Then they travel north with Odd's brother and get as far as Bjarmeland in the northern part of Norway. There they meet people who speak a foreign language, an event that — in the Old Norse original — provides material for a pithy remark.

"Skilr þú hér nokkut mál manna?" sagði Oddr. "Eigi heldr en fuglaklið," sagði Ásmundr.<sup>36</sup>

["Do you recognise any language of men?" said Odd. "Not more than the chirping of birds," said Asmund.]

When the utterance is presented by Torfæus in indirect speech, an eloquent remark turns into a neutral summary:

... lingua gentis illis ignota, ut & ritus....<sup>37</sup>

#### 4. Conclusion

In the *Historia Rerum Norvegicarum* even fabulous saga material was included; this way of using sagas as historical sources was met by negative criticism from the 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards. However, it is too simple to say

<sup>35</sup> Torfæus, *Historia Rerum*, I, 266.

<sup>36</sup> *Orvar-Odd's Saga*, ch. 4.

<sup>37</sup> Torfæus, *Historia Rerum*, I, 267.

that Torfæus 'trusted blindly' in his sources. Rather, one could say that his use demonstrates his opinion regarding ancient historical material: that in most cases, there is a historical core, which, however, lies hidden under a veil of fables and adventures. Ideally, it would be the task of the historian to free the material of its fabulous veil, as for instance when the story of Day as the son of Delling and Night is interpreted metaphorically. But such interpretations would be uncertain, and since — with the exception of Snorre's *Chronicle* — the saga material was in practice inaccessible to the *res publica literarum*, Torfæus found it right — as he says many times — to pass it on in the way it had been transmitted from the ancestors. Where narrative passages are concerned, the saga material is presented in the form of summary rather than of intellectual discourse.

To Torfæus, sagas were source material, whereas his aim was to present a work in the genre of history writing. In so doing, Torfæus (as a main rule) made no attempt to present a literal translation of the saga narratives. For example, passages of direct speech and the pithy remarks characteristic of saga style were as a rule summarized by Torfæus in indirect speech. One possible reason why Torfæus largely avoided direct speech is that he found this feature of style to be unsuited for the writing of history: indirect speech and summary would secure more distance from the events described. Moreover, the very brief sentences in the saga style are presented in his work in the form of long periods, in accordance with the tradition of Latin prose. But even important details of content were lost or confused in Torfæus' rewriting of the sagas. This carelessness in details may partly have been due to his illness, since he was not able to make the final corrections himself.

Torfæus had at his disposal a material that is praised for its style, but this aspect of the sagas did not interest him as a historian. Apparently, his program — to present the historical material in the way that it had been transmitted — was related to the content only, and not the style. As it seems, Torfæus, the great admirer of the sagas, did not appreciate their value as literary texts. The task he set himself was to present to the European audience the *deeds* of the ancient Norwegians, and not their rhetoric.

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*LUCIS AD FONTEM VEHE ME FUTURAE*

Il verso riportato nel titolo è preso della lirica latina *Ripa Hudsonia* (*Carmina* 1994, 81, 5)<sup>1</sup> di Joseph Tusiani:

Cuncta tu munda moritura eundo,  
Unda ridens, unda rotunda: cantu  
Candido casto rapiantur horae  
Lucis ad oras.

- 5 Lucis ad fontem vehe me futurae  
Ut vehit ventus folia ad sepulchra,  
Ad loca inter vera sita et Novembres,  
Vera ubi surgunt.

- Vera surgunt vanum ubi tempus exit  
10 Exeuntque omnes hominum furores:  
Blanda tu blando saliente cantu,  
Unda, vehe umbram,

- Et sit umbra amplum sine morte lumen,  
Unda ridens, unda profunda eundo,  
15 Unda quae iucunda potes renasci  
Altior unda.

Pubblicata per la prima volta nel 1986, questa lirica ha presentato moltissimi problemi fin dal momento in cui mi accinsi alla sua traduzione in italiano, nel 1993.

È una lirica senza dubbio molto bella e ricca di musicalità, ma sicuramente difficile e complessa. La difficoltà maggiore deriva, credo, dalla ricchezza delle variazioni o dalle diverse metafore che vi sono inserite, anche se esse ruotano attorno a un unico tema. Tuttavia la struttura del testo e i collegamenti fra le strofe aiutano molto nell'interpretazione.

Non sembrerà strano allora se chi scrive è qui obbligato a seguire una strada piuttosto tortuosa, fatta prima di tutto dell'interpretazione del testo

<sup>1</sup> Per le citazioni, vedere abbreviazioni alla fine. *Ripa Hudsonia* fu pubblicata nella rivista *Vox Latina*, 22 (1986), 179. Fu poi inclusa in *Confinia* 1989, p. 11 e quindi in *Carmina* 1994, c. 81.

e poi dell'esposizione del pensiero del Tusiani riguardo ai temi espressi nella lirica.

Ho sempre sostenuto che la poesia latina e quella inglese del Tusiani debbano essere studiate insieme<sup>2</sup>, pena interpretazioni unilaterali e perciò stesso parziali, o addirittura monche ed errate. Anche il presente saggio (come altri) potrebbe dimostrarlo.

## 1. La struttura e la musicalità

La lirica è costituita da 4 strofe saffiche minori (ciascuna di 3 saffici minori e 1 adonio). L'autore segue la metrica quantitativa e caratterizza lo schema nel seguente modo<sup>3</sup>:

```

- u - - - u u - u - u
- u - - - u u - u - u
- u - - - u u - u - u
- u u - u

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Le quattro strofe hanno, ovviamente, 68 sillabe con l'*ictus*. Di queste, ben 30 presentano la vocale *-u*; se a queste si aggiungono le 7 che presentano la *-o*-, si arriva a ben 37 sillabe con suono scuro (su un totale di 152 sillabe; quindi circa un quarto di esse). Le *-u*- sono più usate nella prima e nella seconda sede di ogni verso. La musicalità, anche se caratterizzata dai suoni scuri di *-u*- e di *-o*-, ha improvvisi cambiamenti del colore vocalico, come nell'allitterazione dei vv. 2-3 *cantu / candido casto*: le *-a*- con l'*ictus* sono preparate dalle *-a*- atone di *unda, rotunda*; queste due parole formano addirittura una rima (*unda rotunda*).

Metto in evidenza anche le variazioni musicali della seconda strofa, ottenute tramite le ripetizioni delle *v*-: *vehe / vehit / ventus* nei primi due versi trovano corrispondenza in *vera / Novembres / vera* negli altri due versi.

E si potrebbe continuare, per evidenziare la fitta trama sonora realizzata dai fonemi vocalici e consonantici, da allitterazioni, omoteleuti, paronomasie, effetti eco, variazioni foniche e verbali, ecc.

<sup>2</sup> Di questo parere sembra essere anche M. Pastore Passaro ('*Gente mia*, Part two: an indispensable reading', in *Joseph Tusiani Poet Translator Humanist. An International Homage*, ed. Paolo A. Giordano [West Lafayette: Bordighera, 1994], p. 111). L'ideale sarebbe esaminare contemporaneamente le opere nelle lingue usate dal Tusiani (Italiano, Inglese, Latino, Dialetto).

<sup>3</sup> Si possono notare la prima sede sempre trocaica e la seconda sempre spondaica (come Orazio).

Non so dove sia stata scritta questa lirica; ma con molte probabilità sarà stata pensata, come recita il titolo, sulla riva dell'Hudson, a New York. Si potrebbe così spiegare la sua particolare e insistente musicalità cupa, però anche aperta a suoni chiari e luminosi. Il poeta potrebbe essere stato suggestionato, nella sua creazione poetica, anche dai rumori percepiti e memorizzati nel momento in cui si trovava in riva all'Hudson e cominciava ad elaborare questa poesia.<sup>4</sup> Nelle parole del testo sono così rimaste le immagini “foniche” delle onde.<sup>5</sup>

Le strofe sono unite tra di loro: il testo dell'adonio contiene parole (e quindi idee) che vengono riprese dai versi iniziali della strofa seguente. Questi versi iniziali chiariscono, spiegano o commentano il testo dell'adonio. Le strofe sono così strettamente unite e collegate e fanno di questa lirica una composizione granitica e unitaria, anche perché, ripeto, l'argomento è unico ma sapientemente variato. È una tecnica che presenta un alto valore musicale, ma è anche una chiave di lettura che l'autore ha messo a disposizione del lettore e senza la quale la lirica risulterebbe certamente di più difficile comprensione e decriptazione. Questa tecnica, usata spesso dal Tusiani, la si potrà chiaramente notare tra poco, quando sarà esaminato il testo e il suo significato.

## 2. Interpretazione

All'interpretazione della lirica si perviene tenendo presenti i piani diversi o — in altre parole — le metafore diverse sotto le quali il Tusiani identifica la vita umana.

### 2.1. Metafora del ciclo dell'acqua

Il poeta guarda la corrente dell'Hudson (*unda*). L'acqua del fiume confluisce e si perde nella baia di New York e quindi nell'Oceano.

L'acqua dell'oceano, evaporando, è salita in alto e si è spostata verso l'entroterra. Trasformata in pioggia, è caduta sul terreno ed è andata

<sup>4</sup> Ho avuto quest'impressione nell'ottobre 1997. Ero, con Joseph Tusiani, in riva all'Hudson, a Manhattan, mi pare nella zona denominata Seaport o dintorni o comunque verso Battery Park. Si camminava su un pavimento di legno su palafitte. Se si stava fermi e attenti, era facile sentire (con gli orecchi e con le vibrazioni del pavimento) i rumori prodotti dalle onde della baia che sbattevano sui pali o sotto il tavolato. Erano suoni cupi, tipo *tum, tum*, ecc.

<sup>5</sup> Si noti l'uso continuo di *t, d, n*, in sequenze come *cuncta tu munda moritu-ra e-un-do, unda, rotunda cantu candido casto rapiantur* ecc.



man mano a finire nel fiume Hudson. Seguendo la corrente di questo fiume, quell'acqua, che prima era stata vapore, torna al luogo di origine, l'oceano (*unda moritura*).

La corrente del fiume Hudson è metafora del ciclo della vita nelle varie forme, quindi anche della vita umana. Guardando l'acqua del fiume che ritorna all'oceano originario, il poeta è portato facilmente a pensare — come altre volte<sup>6</sup> — alla vicenda della vita umana e in particolare alla conclusione di essa. L'autore ha aggiunto almeno altre due connotazioni relative all'onda. *Unda rotunda* è la forma dell'onda nel suo rotolare, specialmente vicino alla riva, ma indica anche il continuo scorrere, momento per momento, dall'origine alla fine. È perciò una notazione che si adatta benissimo alla metafora dello scorrere della vita. *Unda profunda eundo* vorrebbe indicare lo spessore crescente dell'onda nel suo avanzamento. Alla foce, non è più la piccola onda della sorgente, ma ha acquistato sia altezza, sia corrispondente profondità. È la qualità dell'onda che, alla fine della lirica, viene richiamata con le parole *unda quae iucunda potes renasci / altior unda*. È una ripresa concettuale e musicale dell'immagine. Le *-un-* risuonanti in corrispondenza degli *ictus* ritornano e riproducono i suoni dell'inizio; il motivo iniziale si ripete, ma con la nuova e significativa aggiunta/variazione della possibilità della rinascita e della ripetizione di tale ciclo.

## 2.2. *Metafora del ciclo vegetativo*

Questo ciclo, descritto nella seconda strofa, viene presentato in maniera piuttosto complicata anche se vengono usate immagini più volte presenti nella poesia di Joseph Tusiani. Il motivo delle foglie che cadono a fine stagione è presente sia nella poesia latina, sia nella poesia inglese del Tusiani ed è sempre collegato al ciclo delle stagioni e della vegetazione.

Nella seconda strofa, si sovrappongono però tre immagini o, se si vuole, tre metafore. Un accenno iniziale alla conclusione della vita dell'uomo è seguito (come paragone, rafforzato anche dalla ripresa *vehe/vehit*) dal ciclo vegetativo che è collegato al ciclo annuale, alle stagioni.

Che cosa possono essere i *sepulchra* del v. 6? A me sembra una di quelle immagini tusianee che sottintendono più "passaggi logici". È una

<sup>6</sup> Il collegamento tra la fine del fiume nell'oceano e la fine della vita dell'uomo è presente altre volte nella poesia latina del Tusiani; si legga la lirica *Fluminis Ostium* (*Carmina* 1994, c. 131): "Curre tranquille ad mare, molle flumen, / inde dic nobis **moriente** vena / de **nova vita** rigidis sub undis / omne sciendum. // Ad maris mysteria mille curre / et viro metas aperi verenti: / cras idem maestus mihi iter supremum / est faciendum."

specie di ermetismo caratteristico del Tusiani, il quale passa da un'immagine all'altra usando non tutti gli elementi dell'immagine, ma uno solo (il respiro invece dell'uomo; il calore o la luce o "raggio" per il sole, il verde per la foglia o la pianta, l'ala per l'uccello, ecc). È una forma di sineddoche. L'immagine delle foglie è spesso legata, in Tusiani e in altri poeti fin dall'età classica<sup>7</sup>, alla vita umana. E perciò le foglie cadute, collegate all'autunno, sono per il Tusiani immagine o metafora della vita.<sup>8</sup> *Sepulchra*, nella poesia in esame, credo che voglia significare prima di tutto il luogo dove si raccolgono le foglie cadute, lo stesso luogo dove poi esse moriranno, si decomporranno per tornare elementi chimici primi. L'idea è rafforzata e variata dalla notazione del *Novembres* del verso seguente, scritta dall'autore in maiuscolo, quasi a personificare, con Novembre, la Morte.<sup>9</sup>

Più difficile ed ermetica è la frase seguente, *Ad loca inter vera sita et Novembres / Vera ubi surgunt*. La costruzione uguale (*ad* e l'accusativo) di *ad sepulchra* e *ad loca* indicherebbe, secondo un processo mentale dell'autore, che i *sepulchra* vengono messi sullo stesso piano dei *loca inter vera sita et Novembres*. Solo che il luogo è diventato un periodo di tempo, una stagione; si è passati da una connotazione locale a una temporale. È la stagione della vegetazione, il periodo del ciclo vegetativo.

*Vera ubi surgunt* è la ripresa del *vera* del verso precedente, ma introduce un concetto piuttosto complicato. Dove nascono le primavere?

Il Tusiani fa capire che le primavere nascono dopo la conclusione di un ciclo vegetativo, ossia dopo che le foglie sono morte. Fuori metafora, le primavere nascono dopo che l'inverno ha distrutto tutta la vegetazione nata nella primavera precedente e arrivata alla maturazione/morte in autunno. Il *vera ubi surgunt* indicherebbe un luogo/tempo in cui ricomincia il ciclo vitale della vegetazione, il ciclo delle stagioni. Novembre è il *sepulchrum*, è la morte, è la fine, dopo la quale può iniziare un nuovo ciclo. Se l'acqua non torna nell'oceano, non può ricominciare il ciclo di

<sup>7</sup> Vd. Emilio Bandiera, *Per una lettura de La Morte di Lucano di Joseph Tusiani* (Galatina: Congedo Editore, 2004), p. 7.

<sup>8</sup> Per le liriche latine, vd. *Rastrum rex* (*In exilio* 1985, p. 25); *Formido* (*ibid.*, p. 30); *Cantiuncula vespertina* (*Carmina* 1994, c. 65); *Melos autumnale* (*ibid.*, c. 132); *Folia autumnalia* (*Carmina* 1998, c. 11); *Aurum autumnale* (*ibid.*, c. 15); *Grata musica moesta* (*ibid.*, c. 33); *Cogitatio* (*ibid.*, c. 60); *Pictura siccis floribus texta* (*ibid.*, c. 77); *De minimis fontibus* (*ibid.*, c. 79); *Praemonitus* (*ibid.*, c. 85). Anche per la lirica inglese, riporto solo pochi esempi, da Rind 1962, *Lucis ante terminum* (p. 84); da *Fifth Season* 1964, *The Rake* (p. 59); da *Gente mia* 1978, *Analysis in Late November* (p. 52), *Footnote to Vivaldi* (p. 76); da *Collected* 2004, *The Death of Lucan* (vv. 1-4; p. 187).

<sup>9</sup> Già in *Poema cyclicum* (*Carmina* 1994, 13, 8): "mors quoque vita est".

evaporazione, pioggia, ritorno all'oceano. Se l'erba non muore, non può rinascere in primavera. Se l'uomo non muore, non può rinascere.<sup>10</sup>

### 2.3. *Il ciclo della vita umana*

La terza strofa inizia — secondo la regola di questa lirica — con la ripresa/spiegazione del concetto espresso nell'adonio precedente. Il poeta riprende qui il tema e lo amplifica collegandolo non più alla vegetazione o alle stagioni, ma alla vita dell'uomo. La fine del ciclo vegetativo/stagionale è rappresentata nella strofa precedente; la fine della vita dell'uomo è indicata in questa terza strofa. In altre parole, nella seconda strofa il poeta prima chiede di essere condotto *ad fontem lucis futurae* e poi spiega, con una similitudine, che si va alla "fonte della luce futura" così come le erbe sono portate *ad sepulchra*. Si descrive poi in che cosa consiste e dove/quando si trova il *sepulchrum*. La terza strofa di fatto descrive l'arrivo dell'uomo al *sepulchrum*, ossia la fine della vita dell'uomo. È un passaggio continuo da un concetto all'altro, da vegetazione a stagioni, da luoghi a tempi.

Una chiave interpretativa della terza strofa sta anche nel significato di *exit/exeunt*. Il Tusiani usa comunemente *exeo* nel significato di "andare via dal luogo dove si stava prima"<sup>11</sup>, ovviamente per andare poi in un altro luogo. In questo senso *exit* ed *exeunt*, riferiti alla vita dell'uomo, indicherebbero l'uscita dalla vita e il conseguente andare verso la "luce futura".

La vita dell'uomo viene chiamata dall'autore *vanum tempus e hominum furores*. Quindi la vita dell'uomo è vita nel tempo, fuori dall'eternità. L'aggettivo *vanum* riprende o allude a un concetto noto per la vita del cristiano. È quello della vita intesa come *vanitas*: *vanitas vanitatum et omnia vanitas*.<sup>12</sup> I *furores hominum* possono essere tutte le azioni dell'uomo compiute nel tempo, magari azioni non sempre strettamente necessarie, ma legate alla *vanitas* umana. In maniera bonaria il Tusiani chiama *furores* le azioni buone o non buone (non giudica) dell'uomo, l'affannarsi

<sup>10</sup> Non è rinascita individuale; non rinasce lo stesso uomo, la stessa erba, la stessa foglia, ma un essere della stessa specie.

<sup>11</sup> Nella produzione latina tusiana pubblicata, ho trovato 10 esempi di *exeo*, precisamente nelle liriche *Poesis* (*Carmina* 1994, 5, 3); *Hora litorea* (*ibid.*, 75, 10); *Funus in hortulo* (*ibid.*, 87, 8); *Iter ad Garganum* (*ibid.*, 98, 28); *Oratio matutina* (*ibid.*, 101, 16); *Cicada longinqua* (*Carmina* 1998, 26, 2); *Nuda aestas* (*ibid.*, 65, 12); *Somnium filiae* (*ibid.*, 67, 1 e 19); *De mulieris tyrannide* (*ibid.*, 70, 6). In 9 di questi casi si ha lo stesso significato riferito.

<sup>12</sup> È frase biblica presa dall'*Ecclesiaste* (1, 2 e 12, 8), nel testo della *Vulgata*.

dell'uomo per tante cose della vita, che in realtà sono semplicemente *vanitas*.

È utile chiarire il significato del verbo *rapiantur*<sup>13</sup> del v. 3. Come al solito, la struttura della lirica permette la giusta interpretazione. *Rapiantur horae / lucis ad oras* è chiarito e spiegato dallo stesso autore con i versi iniziali della strofa seguente *lucis ad fontem vehe me futurae*. Le *horae* sono fatte di tempo e qui indicano il tempo. Le *orae lucis* sono invece “i lidi della luce”, il regno della luce, ossia l'eternità (*fons*<sup>14</sup> *lucis*). Le *horae* (il tempo) sono venute fuori dall'eternità (*orae lucis, fons lucis*) e all'eternità devono ritornare (*rapiantur*), perché si compia il ciclo.<sup>15</sup>

Il discorso che si sta portando avanti non mira a un esame più o meno estetico della lirica latina *Ripa Hudsonia*. Si tenta invece, attraverso questo saggio, ed eventuali altri, di chiarire alcuni meccanismi interni della poesia di Joseph Tusiani. Si vogliono, cioè, capire le basi del pensiero, il modo di pensare, direi la filosofia del Tusiani, espressa nelle sue varie opere (o almeno, per ora, in quelle latine e inglesi, nelle quali l'autore si mostra di più *poeta doctus*). Sono opere di poesia, non trattati di filosofia o teologia. Tuttavia possiedono, espressa in frasi singole o in termini caratteristici, la chiave interpretativa, la maniera di conoscere “perché” il Tusiani ragiona in un determinato modo e si esprime nella maniera che conosciamo attraverso i suoi testi. È un lavoro che richiederà impegno e tempo.

Stimo questo tipo di approfondimento non solo utile, ma addirittura necessario. Sulle opere di Joseph Tusiani si è scritto molto. Tuttavia mi sembra che, mentre alcuni problemi sono stati trattati più ampiamente e

<sup>13</sup> *Rapiantur* fu da me tradotto in maniera errata con “straripino”. Avevo allora interpretato (male) il verbo come “uscita”, “venuta” delle *horae* fuori dall'eternità (*orae lucis*). Il mio errore deriva dalla falsa interpretazione di *umbra* (v. 12) nella lirica *Ripa Hudsonia*. *Umbra* comunemente nel Tusiani significa “morte”. Come poteva invocare la morte? Non avevo compreso la struttura di *Ripa Hudsonia*, dove immediatamente dopo si spiega che *umbra* è *altum sine morte lumen*, ossia il regno di Dio pieno di luce. In questo senso, è normale, spiegabile e logica l'invocazione *rapiantur*, in quanto si inserisce sia nel contesto della lirica, sia nel ciclo della vita umana. Propongo come traduzione *rapiantur* = “ritornino”.

<sup>14</sup> Il termine *fons* ricorda e rafforza la similitudine col fiume, qui impersonato dall'Hudson.

<sup>15</sup> Vd. *The Cycle* (Rind 1962, p. 4); ma sono anche significativi altri brani sparsi, come: “and so you rise from darkness and are called / angel and God... / only to wonder why the end of light / is the beginning of it, and the earth, / a long time dead, has always been alive. / This is the death of all that once was born, / this is the birth of all that once was dead” (da *Two moments at Patmos*, p. 50 di *Gente mia* 1978).

i frutti si possano vedere, altri campi o altre angolazioni restano ancora terreno vergine. E forse proprio questi nuovi approfondimenti chiariranno aspetti fondamentali del pensiero tusiano e potrebbero portare il lettore a conclusioni diverse rispetto a quelle già acquisite. Questo non significa, ovviamente, mettere da parte quanto è stato scritto. Gli approfondimenti portano sempre a risultati positivi, illuminano sempre qualche angolo dell'animo o del pensiero di un autore. Chi si interessa di studi "umani" sa che i traguardi raggiunti non sono mai definitivi, ma costituiscono solo tappe temporanee.

Tutto questo mio discorso non va preso come un manifesto programmatico o un velleitario annuncio di chissà che cosa di nuovo. Intendo solo chiarire alcune mie dichiarazioni dell'*Introduction* ai *Collected Poems*.<sup>16</sup>

Uno dei temi che intendo chiarire è quello riguardante il ciclo dell'esistenza umana, dalle origini al ritorno alle origini<sup>17</sup>, che rientra nel più ampio tema del Platonismo-Francescanesimo che io attribuisco al Tusiani. Come ho già scritto, non si deve presumere di trovare, nelle composizioni poetiche di Tusiani, un'esposizione da trattato. Non lo consentirebbe la natura delle composizioni.<sup>18</sup> Il poeta parla per metafore, per immagini, in espressioni nascoste in frasi varie, in periodi di passaggio. Sta allo studioso raccogliere queste tessere sparse e ricostruire il mosaico delle idee generali, anzi delle ideologie.

In *Ripa Hudsonia* c'è l'aspettativa della fine, l'invocazione (*rapiantur* v. 3; *vehe* v. 5 e 12; *sit* v. 13) del ritorno verso l'origine, la richiesta della pace e della serenità attraverso il ritorno *ad fontem lucis*.

*Ripa Hudsonia* non è l'unico testo che presenta questo tema e questo linguaggio poetico. Questo tipo di linguaggio è rinvenibile in moltissime liriche e testi in prosa del Tusiani, dall'inizio della sua attività di scrittore fino a quello che scrive oggi. Qui mi limiterò a riportare solo alcuni esempi più significativi.<sup>19</sup> Essi permetteranno di ricostruire un itinerario dell'essere vivente dalle origini alla fine e al suo ritorno alle origini.

<sup>16</sup> *Collected* 2004, pp. 8-10.

<sup>17</sup> Ho accennato a questo tema sia nell'*Introduction* ai *Collected* 2004 (pp. 8-10), sia in *Per una lettura de La morte*, p. 12.

<sup>18</sup> In altri tipi di composizione letteraria, come la prosa narrativa, il Tusiani può essere più esplicito in certi concetti e avvicinarsi in qualche modo a un discorso trattatistico. Si veda, per questo, quanto scrivo, *infra*, sul romanzo *Envoy* 1965.

<sup>19</sup> Sarebbe pressoché impossibile riportare tutti i passi in cui si usa questo linguaggio, tanto essi sono numerosi.

Nella lirica inglese *Aubade in Gray*<sup>20</sup>, il poeta spinge il pensiero fino a un periodo anteriore alle origini della vita, addirittura a prima della creazione del mondo. Si guarda alla presenza di Dio nella luce del *timelessness*, nel “senza tempo”<sup>21</sup>, nell’eternità:

Gray was the color of all timelessness  
when timelessness and color were all one.  
There was no fire yet, there was no sun,  
there was God dreaming of a light called man.

5 And then time trembled out of timelessness,  
victory rising from no battle won.  
There was no music yet, no crying done,  
there was God dreaming of a voice called man.

10 Now look and listen. In this timelessness  
the first birds twitter, the first shadows run,  
heaven and earth and dusk and dawn are one,  
and I am dreaming of a God called man.

Per quel che mi risulta, su questa lirica hanno scritto solo Ennio Bonea e Cosma Siani.<sup>22</sup> È stata considerata una composizione di fantasia, di contemplazione, forse solo una poesia altamente lirica. Ma ho già affrontato *Aubade in Gray* in un altro mio lavoro<sup>23</sup>, mostrandone la ricchezza di dati e di poesia e tentando una interpretazione che credo più che plausibile.

È una specie di genesi, altamente poetica, nella quale si narra la nascita della luce e del suono, elementi costitutivi e addirittura “motori” della vita, nella “teologia” tusiana.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Pubblicata in *Gente mia* 1978, p. 51. La lirica fu tradotta da Maria Pastore Passaro (Joseph Tusiani, *Gente mia e altre poesie*, prefazione di Ennio Bonea, traduzione dall’inglese di Maria Passaro Pastore (sic!)) [San Marco in Lamis: Gruppo Cittadella, 1982], p. 71).

<sup>21</sup> *Timelessness* fu tradotto come sostantivo “senzatempo” dal Maria Pastore Passaro (*Gente mia e altre poesie*). Cosma Siani (*L’io diviso. Joseph Tusiani fra emigrazione e letteratura* [Roma: Edizioni Cofine, 1999], p. 68) tradusse ‘senza tempo’ / ‘senza-tempo’ / ‘eternità’. L’espressione “senzatempo” (comunque scritta) è certamente molto suggestiva come traduzione di *timelessness*, ma forse potrebbe generare equivoci. Potrebbe essere inteso semplicemente e unicamente come un momento di “stasi”, di pura contemplazione; oppure come riferimento a una favola (Bonea, nella *Prefazione di Gente mia* 1978, p. 15). La traduzione di *timelessness* con “eternità” mi sembra più adatta e meno possibile di equivoci.

<sup>22</sup> Bonea, nella *Prefazione di Gente mia* 1978, p. 15; Siani (*L’Io diviso*, p. 68) vide già “Quasi una metafora della creazione divina e umana, sull’onda di uno slancio mistico e terreno a un tempo.”

<sup>23</sup> Emilio Bandiera, ‘La musica nella poesia latina di Joseph Tusiani’, in corso di stampa negli Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi “Musa Latina saeculi XX”, svoltosi a Roma, Accademia Belgica, nell’aprile 2001.

<sup>24</sup> Si veda Bandiera, ‘La musica nella poesia latina di Joseph Tusiani’. Già nella piccola e prima raccolta di versi latini *Melos* 1955 è possibile trovare prime tracce di questo

Dio “è”, ma non sembra contento del suo “essere” o del luogo<sup>25</sup> dove “è”. Il Tusiani proietta<sup>26</sup> su Dio la sua idea poetica, la sua emozione, e presenta addirittura come grigia la luce del regno di Dio. Sarebbe la ‘mente’ di Dio (o, secondo il modo di vedere del Tusiani, il ‘cuore’ di Dio) a vedere grigio, perché qualcosa manca o Gli manca. Per questa “mancanza”, Dio sogna (e quindi desidera) una luce e un suono chiamati “uomo”. In realtà, Dio sembrerebbe voler cambiare il grigio del *timelessness* in qualcosa di più luminoso e colorato; e sognerebbe l’uomo, come se, senza l’uomo, Egli non potesse essere beato. Dio sogna l’uomo e dunque lo ama.<sup>27</sup>

Poi inizia il tempo, inizia la vita fatta di luce e di suono (musica). Credo più che interessante l’espressione *And then time trembled out of timelessness*, di *Aubade in Gray*.<sup>28</sup> L’immagine del tempo che esce dall’eternità con un tremito, ricorda il tipo di immagini che lo stesso Tusiani usò, per es., nel romanzo *Envoy from Heaven*, nel primo capitolo, quando descrisse la Mistica Rosa del Paradiso. Lì, i Santi sono nella beatitudine e comunicano tra loro o con Dio non con parole, ma con luci e suoni.<sup>29</sup> L’uscita del tempo fuori dall’eternità è, per il Tusiani, un tremito nella stasi eterna; un tremito che non deriva da un fatto traumatico, ma avviene nella massima spontaneità, “come una vittoria pacifica, che deriva/nasce da una battaglia non vinta”: non vinta perché battaglia non è stata.

Come risultato, si ha che l’eternità cambia il suo colore. In questa nuova eternità (*In this timelessness*) c’è la vita, con l’uomo che contem-

linguaggio usato da Tusiani. Nella lirica *Spiritus invidus est*, vv. 2-4: “Docueram et animam lumina praevia te. / ‘Lux’ dixi et lux prima fuit nictataque terra est: / Te vidi ex gremio lucis et harmoniae”.

<sup>25</sup> Di queste cose si può parlare solo in termini... umani; né si vuole qui scomodare la teologia.

<sup>26</sup> Ovviamente una simile eternità grigia non sarebbe accettabile dalla teologia. Però l’eternità ‘grigia’ è funzionale al pensiero del Tusiani.

<sup>27</sup> Talvolta, però, il pensiero del Tusiani risulta piuttosto pessimista, tanto da sostenere che proprio l’uomo è quello che rovina ciò che Dio ha creato e chiede a Dio di non dar vita all’uomo. Si veda *Inviolata pulchritudo* (*In exilio* 1985, p. 5; *Radicitus* 2000, p. 34): “Non existit adhuc peccator in hac bonitate / purae Naturae. Deus omnipotens, requiesce: / si vis in terra miracula tanta manere / (iam tua imago ferax per mundum maxima lucet) / noli impurum hominem de limo denique flare.”

<sup>28</sup> Anche in *Melos* 1955, sono presenti espressioni che sembrano preannunciare il testo di *Aubade*; nella lirica *Venit Amor* (p. 6, vv. 3-4 e 11-14: “Vera cano. Tecum ex aeterno gurgite natus / Vixi; // vita perennis adest./ Vita veterrima adest saeculorum praeteritorum / Quando, astris factis temporeque imposito, / Fulgida eras stella et ego lumen eram illius astri.”

<sup>29</sup> Su questo argomento, si veda *infra*.

pla la vita stessa fatta di luce e di musica (*Now look and listen*).<sup>30</sup> Poi anche l'uomo sogna; ma sogna Dio che si fa uomo con l'Incarnazione.

Quest'interpretazione di *Aubade in Gray* è avvalorata, mi pare, anche da un'altra lirica inglese del Tusiani, *East Hampton*.<sup>31</sup>

It is this awesome stillness 'round my life  
that makes the mind envision timelessness —  
therefore a force, a silence or a breath  
before creation. I imagine even  
5 the unimaginable, the right shape  
of all that was still shapeless in a sky  
that was no sky yet, and above a land  
that was to be all lands. Was it a silence  
that changed itself with murmurings and sounds,  
10 or else a primal breath — but whose? — that learned  
to co-exist with silence in that stillness  
so much like this one, but outside my life  
when life was not yet known as such and all  
had but the name of timelessness? Oh, rest,  
15 poor mind, and do what you do best — adore.

Mi pare innegabile che queste due liriche inglesi, scritte in due tempi differenti, siano strettamente collegate. Ma in *East Hampton* il poeta descrive i suoi pensieri in un momento di quiete particolare e solenne (*awesome stillness*). *Aubade in Gray* non è solo contemplazione, ma anche descrizione lirica di un fatto 'cronologico'.

Questi aspetti del pensiero tusiano erano già espressi in opere di qualche anno prima di *Aubade in Gray*. Sarà utile riportare altre testimonianze di questo tipo di pensiero e di linguaggio tusiano.

Si tratta di opere del Tusiani, in prosa. Oggi purtroppo pochissimo o per niente conosciute, esse ebbero un grande successo (di pubblico e di critica) alla loro pubblicazione. Sono i due romanzi: *Dante in licenza* in italiano ed *Envoy from Heaven* in inglese.

*Dante in licenza*<sup>32</sup> fu scritto in italiano e fu anche una celebrazione dei Missionari Comboniani, presso i quali il Tusiani era stato seminarista. Il romanzo racconta che il Paradiso invia Dante in Italia per un anno, in occasione dell'Anno Santo 1950.

<sup>30</sup> Si veda il mio 'La musica nella poesia latina di Joseph Tusiani'.

<sup>31</sup> East Hampton è una località all'estrema punta est di Long Island. La lirica fu pubblicata in *Mother Cabrini and Other Poems (Italian Quarterly)*, XL [2003], 155-156, Winter-Spring, e poi ripubblicata in *Collected 2004*, p. 216.

<sup>32</sup> Vd. *Dante 1952*. Il romanzo ebbe ben quattro ristampe tra il marzo 1952 e il settembre dello stesso anno e una grande risonanza di critica sia in America (Stati Uniti, Cuba), che in Europa.



Riporto alcuni passi del primo capitolo, dove si descrive il “concilio” (p. 9) dei Santi nel Paradiso. Il corsivo (mio) serve per indicare le espressioni utili.

All'adunanza speciale erano convenuti tutti gli Angeli e i Santi, i quali erano disposti *a raggiera luminosa* intorno al Trono dell'Altissimo. Alla destra di Gesù sedeva in gloria la Vergine Santissima [...] *E la luce, che circondava come un'immensa aureola il Trono di Dio, era sì abbagliante che, per farsene una pallida idea, bisogna pensare a tutte le primavere messe insieme e a tutti i raggi di sole che hanno illuminato la terra dall'alba della creazione.*

La seduta fu aperta con un *inno*, cantato da tutti i Santi. Dopo la *musica dolcissima*, prese la parola San Giovanni Crisostomo [...] “Santi di Dio! La parola più dotta e ornata non conta nel *regno della Luce Infinita*”. [...] Le parole del Crisostomo furon seguite da un intenso *sfavillio multicolore che fu come un bisbiglio di esultanza tra i beati. Quand'ecco una viva fiammella* accennò di parlare [...].

Fu allora come se un *fulgidissimo sole* oscurasse per un istante la luce di tutte le stelle. Gesù Cristo si alzò. Fu *silenzio solenne*. Risuonarono al di sopra delle nubi e dei firmamenti le parole del Figlio di Maria. [...] *Vi trovate da secoli nel regno della beatitudine, nelle sfere del canto e dell'amore.* (pp. 9-112).

Il Tusiani ventottenne descriveva il regno di Dio, indicato nel Paradiso, come regno di beatitudine, amore, luce, canto. Lì non si usano le parole, perché ogni Santo o Angelo è una fiammella, una luce. L'espressione dei sentimenti, ossia la parola, viene presentata dal Tusiani<sup>33</sup> come una variazione di luminosità e di musica. I Santi e gli Angeli vedono tutto in Dio e comprendono attraverso le variazioni di luce, colori, musica.

*Envoy from Heaven*<sup>34</sup> riprende lo schema generale di *Dante in licenza*. Ma viene scritto in inglese, con alcune grandi variazioni, che ne fanno un romanzo più completo e meglio strutturato.

Gli interventi del Tusiani riguardanti luce e suono sono presenti soprattutto nei capitoli I e XXV (primo e ultimo). Riporto anche di questo romanzo qualche brano dai capitoli indicati (il corsivo è mio).

<sup>33</sup> Il Tusiani sfrutta evidentemente Dante, adattandolo.

<sup>34</sup> Vd. *Envoy 1965*. Indicato come “libro del mese” dai cattolici americani, nel giro di un anno fu tradotto in italiano e pubblicato a Roma nel dicembre 1966 (*Dal cielo, inviato speciale*, Roma: Ediz. Presenza). Per intervento del card. Urbani, il romanzo tradotto fu dedicato “Alla felice memoria di Papa Giovanni XXIII”. Molte notizie sul romanzo e sulla bibliografia che lo riguarda si possono trovare nella tesi di laurea di Carmen Fanciullo, ‘Il romanzo *Envoy from Heaven* di Joseph Tusiani’ (Università degli Studi di Lecce, Fac. Di Lingue e Lett. Straniere, giugno 1998).

The year of the Lord 1963 began with unusual merriment in Heaven. What with wings of angels and halos of saints, something *was seen and heard* that clearly denoted the imminence of a great event. This, of course, is not to say that in the *realm of Absolute Light* events or happenings fall in the same way as they do here on earth, *time* being as remote from the high spheres as the concept of *eternity* is from man's mind. There was *the same light, the same motion, the same music*, yet something was undoubtedly new or, as we said, unusual in the festive atmosphere of that January morning. [...] There was even, in all that ado of *sound and light*... [due angeli si urtano con le ali e le ali prendono fuoco]...but fortunately there was nothing but a beautiful *storm of sparks* which soon *turned into words* of apology. (pp. 3-4) [Poi i Santi Padri della Chiesa greca e latina cantano un inno] "played by violinos and lutes and sung by a choir [...]" When the *last note died in the light* — it did not die really, it only became the last spark to be *seen and heard* before it took an eternal place on the farthest petal of the Rose — (p. 5).

Sono gli stessi elementi rinvenuti in *Dante in licenza*, espressi con un linguaggio ancora più esplicito. Il regno di Dio è regno di luce infinita e di musica. Anche qui angeli e santi comunicano con Dio attraverso la luce e la musica, come se ogni santo e ogni angelo fosse una piccola parte della luce e un elemento nel grande coro.

Dallo stesso romanzo riporto due espressioni dal capitolo finale, il XXV: *Life is a pilgrimage to Light* (p. 309); *life is a journey to God* (p. 309).

Il grigio del *timelessness*, presente in *Aubade*, non c'è più quando non serve alle emozioni tusianee. L'eternità è mostrata e descritta in maniera effettivamente diversa e, soprattutto, luminosa. Si legga, a questo proposito, la lirica latina *In Ascensu Domini* (*Carmina* 1994, 67):

- Ascendit Dominus: cur non ego, servus, *ad astra*?  
 Forti cum Domino sine servum ascendere victum,  
 Liber et ille erit *in caelo*, pars intima pacis.  
 Alae sunt Domino, sed servo est ardor eundi.
- 5 *Solem* a Se genitum Dominus si attingit amando,  
 Nonne ab eodem sum *fulgore animante* creatus,  
 Nonne *Creatoris* vivebam *in mente* vidente  
*Ante triumphalem per culmina et aequora vitam*?  
 Has inter nebulas natales non remanebo,
- 10 Non remanebo ubi mors et materies minuunt me.  
 Me quoque suscipiat dominatrix Ultima Causa  
 Ac me discordem renovet Concordia Prima.  
 Quid faciam in terra, Dominus si ascendit *ad astra*?  
 Et tu, mi Domine omnipotens, poteris sine servo

- 15 Excelsus Dominus cognosci? Ascendere noli,  
 Nunc sine me noli tua quaerere *candida regna*.  
 Annos extremos tibi notos hic remorare  
 Ibimus et tandem coniunctim *ad sidera* digna.

Anche in questa lirica i concetti sono esposti attraverso immagini e metafore che spesso hanno bisogno di chiarimento. Il regno di Dio (o meglio il “luogo” dove Dio abita) è indicato con immagini di luce. Dio è *in caelo* (v. 3), dove ci sono i suoi *candida regna* (v. 16). Il ritorno di Gesù in cielo (Ascensione) è descritto come ritorno *ad astra* (v. 1), al *solem* (v. 5), *ad astra* (v. 13), *ad sidera* (v. 18). L’uomo è stato creato da Dio “fulgore animante” (v. 6). Ma già prima della nascita l’uomo viveva come anima nella “mente vedente” di Dio creatore (*Creatoris in mente vidente*, v. 7). Il poeta vuole solo tornare, dopo gli anni di vita che Dio stesso ha stabilito (v. 17), alle origini, nella mente di Dio o nel regno di Dio. E quindi nel regno della luce.

Il concetto dell’eternità come regno di Dio, regno della luce e origine e fine dell’uomo (o almeno dell’anima) è presente spesso nella poesia latina e inglese del Tusiani. Riporto solo un esempio di poesia latina e uno di poesia inglese.

La lirica latina è intitolata *Solis edita germine* (*Carmina* 1998, 54)<sup>35</sup>:

- Diva ab aethere defluit  
 Magna flamma et in infimo  
 Corde pallidula incubat:  
 Hic latens tenet omina  
 5 Immanentis originis.  
 Nocte nunc properante, tu,  
 Solis imperium, fere  
 Cedis; at subito intima  
 Spes bene anticipat diem,  
 10 Certitudine luminis  
 Alta, quod fuit atque erit.  
 Non potes, tenebrosa Mors  
 Imminens, radios meos  
 Insitos facere irritos  
 15 Aut ab iride flectere.  
 Solis edita germine,  
 Vita solem alium parit.

<sup>35</sup> La frase *Solis edita germine* appartiene a Boeth., *cons.*, 4, 3, 5 della poesia III. Il Tusiani ha trovato la frase in un’imprecisata *Regia Parnassi*, per giunta con un testo errato; il testo originale è “*Solis edita semine*” e si riferisce alla maga Circe, “la bella dea nata dal seme del Sole”.

È un autentico inno alla luce. “In questo carme, il Tusiani espone una specie di sua teoria sulla luce. La luce è figlia del Sole. Una fiamma del Sole entra nel cuore dell’uomo e vi resta fissa, anche quando sembra piccola o *pallidula*. Resta nascosta, mantiene però le potenzialità dovute alla sua origine. Con l’avvento della notte, l’impero del Sole sembra scomparire e l’uomo potrebbe temere di perdere la luce. Ma ogni vivente ha in sé un seme di luce, che si trasforma in speranza per un nuovo giorno, anzi in certezza del nuovo giorno. La notte, con la mancanza del Sole, evoca la Morte tenebrosa sempre pronta sull’uomo. Ma la certezza del nuovo giorno, data all’uomo dal seme intimo di luce, genera un nuovo sole, un nuovo giorno, fuga la morte e riporta lo splendore della vita”.<sup>36</sup>

Il giudizio della Demitri è corretto e suggestivo. Ma credo che si debba aggiungere altro. Termini come “sole” o “astri” appartengono, in un certo linguaggio tusiano, alla sfera semantica di “regno di Dio e della sua luce eterna”. E questo potrebbe spiegare la simbologia della luce in tutta la poesia del Tusiani, nelle varie lingue da lui usate, e la sua “fede” nel sole, con la paura dell’oscurità, bene espressa in *Fragmentum Carpinianense* (*Carmina* 1998, 86), che ha sentimenti uguali a quelli espressi in *Solis edita germinare*:

Sol, qui das animae meae  
 Lucem qua recreor novam;  
 Sol, in me remane prius  
 Quam Dei bona dubitem.

L’uomo (o la sua anima) che viene da quel regno di luce conserva dentro di sé, con la nascita, una traccia di quella luce originaria, ossia “i presagi della sua immanente origine”. È quella traccia di luce primigenia che guida l’uomo, il quale desidera ritornare a quella luce<sup>37</sup>, come si può leggere chiaramente nella lirica inglese che riporto come esempio.

Si prenda la parte finale di *The Death of Lucan*<sup>38</sup>:

Go, happy soul, from now on ever free  
 to claim the particle of Light once yours.

<sup>36</sup> Vd. Ausilia Demitri, ‘Elementi classici nei *Carmina latina II* di Joseph Tusiani’ (tesi di Perfezionamento in Filologia e Letteratura Latina, Univ. Degli Studi di Lecce, Dip. Scienze dell’Antichità, a. a. 1997-98).

<sup>37</sup> Non esiterei a pensare che nel pensiero di Tusiani riguardante il dopo morte, ci sia un ricordo della preghiera cristiana per i defunti, ossia il *Requiem aeternam dona... et lux perpetua luceat*. La *requies aeterna* sembra coincidere con la *lux perpetua*.

<sup>38</sup> Pubblicata prima in *Forum Italicum*, 35-1 (2001), Spring, è stata ripubblicata in *Collected* 2004, pp. 187-192 e poi ancora in Bandiera, *Per una lettura de La morte*, pp. 16-27.

Go, hazy soul, now for the first time free  
 to soar from mire of matter easily.  
 Tell me your name, and mine I'll recognize,  
 echoed along eternities of praise.  
 Tell me your origin, and I will know  
 my everlasting home.

Questa testimonianza è particolarmente importante, perché fatta pronunciare da un pagano; ma è sempre il Tusiani che si esprime. Lucano morente, ormai dissanguato e ridotto allo stremo della vita, si rivolge alla sua anima che sta per lasciare il corpo e la esorta ad andare alla ricerca *of the particle of Light once yours*. *Once* si riferisce al periodo in cui l'anima era ancora nel regno della luce. Lì ora desidera ritornare. Lucano si identifica con la sua anima e con tutti i "sentimenti" della sua anima (metto il corsivo per evidenziare i termini che interessano questo discorso):

Tell me *your* name, and *mine* I'll recognize,  
 echoed along eternities of praise.  
 Tell me *your origin*, and I will know  
*my everlasting home*.

L'origine dell'anima, ossia il regno della luce, sarà l'eterna dimora di Lucano. È il ritorno alle origini.

Non credo necessario aggiungere altri esempi. La teoria del Tusiani appare chiarissima e non lascia dubbi. L'anima stava nel regno di Dio ricco di luce e di musica. Viene sulla terra con la nascita dell'uomo. Conserva però sempre il ricordo e addirittura una particella della luce originaria. Desidera però tornare al regno della luce e del suono, appena saranno finiti gli anni destinati alla vita.

Come l'acqua del fiume torna all'oceano, come le foglie tornano alla terra, così l'uomo torna alla terra e la sua anima torna al regno della luce.

È il ciclo che si compie.

Per l'origine di queste teorie indicherei Platone, Plotino, San Francesco, San Bonaventura.

Non si può negare al Tusiani una vastissima cultura. Ma forse può risultare più utile e più verosimile pensare alla sua formazione scolastica, universitaria, di studioso, umana e cristiana. Queste idee sono entrate nella dottrina cattolica ed erano le stesse che il Tusiani apprese fin dai primi anni della sua vita. Frequentava la parrocchia, frequentava ambienti

(e seminari) francescani e comboniani. È naturale che egli imparasse queste cose e assimilasse queste idee. I suoi studi possono poi aver dato certezza e approfondimento alle teorie o ideologie fin qui indicate. Non si dimentichi poi l'influenza che avrà avuto Dante. Il Tusiani ha insegnato le opere di Dante da docente nei Colleges, ha pubblicato guide alla *Divina Commedia*, ha tradotto le liriche di Dante (e passi della *Commedia*). Potrebbe derivare dal poeta fiorentino la teoria della luce e della musica, del "regno della luce", per giunta inizialmente espressa in due romanzi 'danteschi'.

Ecco la traduzione in italiano definitiva<sup>39</sup> di *Ripa Hudsonia*.

IN RIVA ALL'HUDSON

Tutto monda, tu che morirai andando,  
onda che ridi, onda rotonda: col canto  
candido casto *ritornino* le ore  
ai lidi della luce.

Della luce futura portami alla fonte,  
come porta il vento le foglie ai sepolcri,  
ai luoghi posti tra aprili e Novembri,  
dove nascono le primavere.

Le primavere *nascono* dove finisce il tempo vano  
e finiscono tutti i furori degli uomini;  
col blando canto che sale, blanda  
onda, *portami* l'ombra,

e l'ombra sia un'ampia luce senza morte,  
onda che ridi, onda profonda andando,  
onda che gioconda puoi rinascere  
onda più alta.

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<sup>39</sup> La prima traduzione comparve nei *Carmina* 1994. La presente traduzione è uguale a quella del 1994, ma vengono corretti, con 'ritornino' (v. 3) e 'portami' (v. 12), gli errori dovuti a inesatta interpretazione del testo latino (v. sopra, nota 12).

### Abbreviazioni delle opere citate di Joseph Tusiani

*Dante* 1952 = Giuseppe Tusiani, *Dante in licenza* (Verona: Editrice Nigrizia, 1952);

*Melos* 1955 = Joseph Tusiani, *Melos Cordis* (Neo Eboraci: Venetian Press, 1955);

*Rind* = Joseph Tusiani, *Rind and All. Fifty Poems* (New York: Monastine Press, 1962);

*Fifth Season* 1964 = Joseph Tusiani, *The Fifth Season. Poems* (New York: I. Obolensky, 1964);

*Envoy* 1965 = Joseph Tusiani, *Envoy from Heaven* (New York: I. Obolensky, 1965);

*Gente mia* 1978 = Joseph Tusiani, *Gente mia and other poems* (Stone Park, Illinois: Italian Cultural Center, 1978);

*In exilio* 1985 = Iosephi Tusiani Neo-Eboracensis, *In exilio rerum. Carmina Latina*, collegit atque edidit Theodericus Sacré (Avennion: Aubanel, 1985);

*Confinia* 1989 = Iosephi Tusiani Neo-Eboracensis, *Confinia lucis et umbrae. Carmina Latina*, selecta atque edita a Theodorico Sacré (Lovanii: E. Peeters, 1989);

*Carmina* 1994 = Iosephi Tusiani Neo-Eboracensis, *Carmina Latina*, Raccolta, introduzione e traduzione di Emilio Bandiera (Fasano: Schena Editore, 1994);

*Carmina* 1998 = Iosephi Tusiani Neo-Eboracensis, *Carmina Latina II*, Raccolta, introduzione e traduzione di Emilio Bandiera (Galatina: Congedo Editore, 1998);

*Radicitus* 2000 = Joseph Tusiani, *Radicitus (Ritorno alle radici)*, Poesie Latine con introduzione e traduzione di Emilio Bandiera (S. Eustachio di Mercato S. Severino: Ediz. Il Grappolo, 2000);

*Collected* 2004 = Joseph Tusiani, *Collected Poems (1983-2004)*, Edited with an Introduction by Emilio Bandiera (Galatina: Congedo Editore, 2004).

Włodzimierz OLSZANIEC

## LEONARDO BRUNI'S CONJECTURES IN PLATO'S *GORGIAS*

One aspect of Renaissance philology is the emendatory activity of the humanists regarding the texts of classical literature. As far as Plato's writings are concerned, numerous emendations — which later appeared in the printed editions — were made by Marsilio Ficino, an eminent fifteenth-century Platonic scholar and translator, the author of the first complete Latin version of the Greek philosopher's works (*Platonis Opera Omnia*, 1484). In the apparatus of modern critical editions we find frequent references to Ficino's version as a source of reading (though one should remember that philologists obtained these readings by a reverse translation of a given word or expression from Ficino's Latin into Greek), but even more often his emendations are hidden behind the names of nineteenth-century scholars, like Heindorf or Bekker, who included them in their own editions without indicating their true source. Research on the selected conjectures present in Ficino's translation has shown that many of them originated from the emendations which had previously been made *in vertendo* by Leonardo Bruni Aretino, translator of several Platonic texts into Latin (the *Phaedo*, the *Gorgias*, the *Crito*, the *Apology*, the *Letters*, the *Phaedrus*). It is known that Ficino, who highly esteemed his predecessor, benefited largely from Bruni's Latin versions.<sup>1</sup>

In order to determine whether a humanistic emendation is a true conjecture (*emendatio ope ingenii*) or whether it relies on the authority of a Greek manuscript unknown to us (*emendatio ope codicum*), we should identify the sources which both Bruni and Ficino used for translations.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See James Hankins, *Plato in the Italian Renaissance*, 2 vols (Leiden – New York – København – Köln, 1991), II, 464-473.

<sup>2</sup> Ficino certainly used ms. Laur. 85.9, but he had at hand other Greek manuscripts while translating some of the dialogues. For the question of Ficino's Greek sources see Sebastiano Gentile, 'Note sui manoscritti greci di Platone utilizzati da Marsilio Ficino', in *Scritti in onore di Eugenio Garin* (Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore, 1987), pp. 51-84; Antonio Carlini, 'Marsilio Ficino e il testo di Platone', *Rinascimento*, 39, (1999), 3-36 (pp. 20-23); Ernesto Berti, 'Marsilio Ficino e il *Fedone* di Platone', in *Les traducteurs au*



The identification of a probable Greek source of Bruni's translation of the *Gorgias* — ms. Laur. 69.25<sup>3</sup> — enables us to verify his conjectures in this dialogue, which I specified in a recent study.<sup>4</sup> A closer examination of Bruni's and Ficino's translations also allows us to indicate new, hitherto unnoted emendations, both those which found their way into the modern editions and those which were not taken into account by researchers. Here is their list.

1. Bruni's emendations which return in Ficino, and, via Ficino, in later scholars:

a) 463 c8: ΠΩΛ. Ἐρωτῶ δὴ, καὶ ἀπόκριναι δοῖον μόριον.<sup>5</sup>

Bruni: Ecce quaero abs te, qualis particula?

Ficino: Quaero iam abs te, qualis particula?

Sauppe deleted the words καὶ ἀπόκριναι, which have no equivalent in both Bruni's and Ficino's versions.

b) 493 b1-3: τῶν δ' ἀνοήτων τοῦτο τῆς ψυχῆς οὗ αἱ ἐπιθυμίαι εἰσὶ, <συνεῖς> τὸ ἀκόλαστον αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐ στεγανόν, ὥς τετρημένος εἶη πίθος, διὰ τὴν ἀπληστίαν ἀπεικάσας.

B.: Damnatorum autem hanc partem animi, in qua cupiditates sunt propter immodestiam et insatiabilitatem perforatum esse dolium inquit.

F.: Horum autem hanc animi partem, quae libidinibus agitur, tamquam futilem ob incontinentiam inexplebilem, perforatum dolium esse inquit.

<συνεῖς> was added by Dodds, because, as he writes, 'τὸ ἀκόλαστον αὐτοῦ κτλ. cannot stand in apposition to τοῦτο τῆς ψυχῆς κτλ., since αὐτοῦ will have nothing to which it can refer'. Another possible solution is the omission of αὐτοῦ (Sauppe) or introduction of a word governing

*travail: leurs manuscrits et leurs méthodes: Actes du Colloque international organisé par le "Ettore Majorana Centre for Scientific Culture" (Erice, 30 settembre – 6 octobre 1999), ed. J. Hamesse (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), pp. 349-425 (pp. 350-352).*

<sup>3</sup> See Włodzimierz Olszaniec, 'La fonte greca del *Gorgia* latino di Leonardo Bruni', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 54 (2005), 359-364.

<sup>4</sup> Włodzimierz Olszaniec, 'Leonardo Bruni, Marsilio Ficino and Their Conjectures in Plato's Writings', *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, 49 (2004), 153-170 (pp. 154-159). An examination of ms. Laur. 69.25 reveals that it does not transmit readings different from the main manuscript tradition in the passages of the *Gorgias* discussed in the article. Therefore Bruni's corrections should be considered as real conjectures which the humanist made while translating.

<sup>5</sup> Quotations from the *Gorgias* after E. R. Dodds' edition (Oxford, 1957). Bruni's translation is quoted from ms. Vat. lat. 3348; Ficino is quoted from *Platonis opera latina Marsilio Ficino interprete*, eds. B. De Choris – S. De Luere (Venice, 1491).

τὸ ἀκόλαστον, for example διὰ (Heindorf). Bruni had an identical idea — *propter immodestiam*. (Bruni did not render καὶ οὐ στεγανόν, probably because he thought that this expression repeated the sense of τετρημένος). Ficino followed Bruni, since *ob incontinentiam* repeats Bruni's expression. It is clear that Heindorf took the idea of his conjecture from Ficino's Latin translation, as he did so very often.

c) 513 b6-8: ὅστις οὖν σε τούτοις ὁμοιότατον ἀπεργάσεται, οὗτός σε ποιήσει, ὥς ἐπιθυμεῖς πολιτικὸς εἶναι, πολιτικὸν καὶ ῥητορικόν·

B.: Quicumque igitur te istis simillimum faciet, is efficiet, quemadmodum cupis, ut popularis sis atque rhetoricus.

F.: Quisquis te his efficiet similem, is faciet, quemadmodum cupis, ut civilis sis atque rhetoricus.

Ast deleted πολιτικὸς as a gloss; Bruni omits the word though he reads it in his manuscript, so does Ficino. The authorship of the emendation should therefore be attributed to Bruni.

d) 514 d-e: καὶ εἰ μὴ ἠύρίσκομεν δι' ἡμᾶς μηδένα βελτίω γεγονότα τὸ σῶμα, μήτε τῶν ξένων μήτε τῶν ἀστῶν, μήτε ἄνδρα μήτε γυναῖκα, πρὸς Διός, ὃ Καλλίκλεις, οὐ καταγέλαστον ἂν ἦν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, εἰς τοσοῦτον ἀνοίας ἐλθεῖν ἀνθρώπους, ὥστε...

B.: ...et si inveniremus nullum per nos sanum esse factum neque peregrinum neque civem neque virum neque mulierem, nonne ridiculum foret in hoc amentiae processisse, ut...

F.: ...atque nisi invenerimus aliquem per nos factum fuisse sanum vel peregrinorum vel civium, sive virum sive mulierem, per Iovem, o Callicles, valde ridiculum foret in tantum amentiae processisse, ut...

Heindorf and Theiler deleted ἀνθρώπους, because the word does not make sense after ἠύρίσκομεν δι' ἡμᾶς; ἡμᾶς is implied here ('would it not be ridiculous that we had reached such a degree of foolishness that...'). The correction was probably prompted by Ficino's version.

e) 524 c5-6: καὶ ἔχνη εἶχε τῶν πληγῶν οὐλὰς ἐν τῷ σώματι

B.: ...multaque plagarum signa in corpore habebat impressa...

F.: ...multaque plagarum vestigia corpori habebat impressa...

Neither Bruni nor Ficino, who imitates Bruni, translate οὐλὰς ('scars'). Heindorf deleted this word as a probable gloss on ἔχνη τῶν πληγῶν ('traces of blows'). He took the idea of correction from Ficino's translation, but its author was Leonardo Bruni.

f) 527 a3-4: ἐκεῖ, καί σε ἴσως τυπτήσῃ τις [καί] ἐπὶ κόρρῃς ἀτίμως καὶ πάντως προπηλακιεῖ.

B.: Et fortasse percutiet quis super genam turpiter ac omnino contumeliis afficiet.

F.: Ibi forsitan percutiet te aliquis turpiter super genam et contumelia iniuriaque prorsus afficiet.

The awkward καὶ was deleted by Cobet, followed by the majority of scholars. Perhaps the emendation was suggested by Ficino's rendering, but the first to omit the superfluous conjunction was Bruni.

A special case is:

486 e5-6: ΣΩ. Εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι, ἂν μοι σὺ ὁμολογήσης περὶ ὧν ἡ ἐμὴ ψυχὴ δοξάζει, ταῦτ' ἤδη ἐστὶν αὐτὰ τάληθῃ.

B.: Quia bene novi, quoniam ea quae tu mihi consenseris de his, quae animus meus opinatur, ipsa certe vera sunt.

F.: Quoniam certo scio ea quae tu mecum senseris in his, quae meus animus opinatur, fore procul dubio vera.

Bruni's translation reflects the reading of ms. Laur. 69.25: ἂ ἂν μοι σὺ ὁμολογήσης - *ea quae tu mihi consenseris* (the same is found in ms. Par.gr. 1811, the ancestor of Laur. 69.25, which is noted by the apparatus of Dodds' edition), so this is not a real conjecture. Though Ficino's Greek manuscript — Laur. 85.9 — does not read ἂ — he follows Bruni in his translation.<sup>6</sup> Bekker has probably borrowed his reading Εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι, ἂν (= ἂ ἂν) μοι σὺ ὁμολογήσης from Ficino's translation.

2. Bruni's emendations which do not return in Ficino and which were made independently by later philologists.

a) 473 b12-c1: ἐὰν ἀδικῶν ἄνθρωπος ληφθῇ, τυραννίδι ἐπιβουλεύων

B.: Si deprehendatur quispiam tyrannidem sibi procurans...

F.: Si quis tyrannidem per iniuriam moliri deprehensus fuerit...

Bruni does not render ἀδικῶν. Dobree and Schanz deleted the word as pointless. Ficino's translation has probably prompted Findeisen's conjecture ἀδίκως (pertaining to ἐπιβουλεύων).

b) 483 a7-8: φύσει μὲν γὰρ πᾶν αἰσχρόν ἐστιν ὅπερ καὶ κάκιον, <οἶον> τὸ ἀδικεῖσθαι, νόμῳ δὲ τὸ ἀδικεῖν.

B.: Natura enim peius ac turpius est iniuriam pati, lege autem inferre.

F.: Natura enim quicquid peius est, idem et turpius, quale est iniuriam pati, lege vero inferre.

The translation shows that Bruni was aware of the illogicality of the transmitted text, where τὸ ἀδικεῖσθαι, being only one particular instance

<sup>6</sup> A similar phenomenon is noted in Berti, 'Ficino', pp. 391-392.

of τὸ κάκιον, stands in apposition to πᾶν ὅπερ κάκιον. Bruni avoids this difficulty by omitting πᾶν. The same solution — according to Dodds one of the two possible ones<sup>7</sup> — was chosen by Rückert. Just as Bruni, Ficino also noted the difficulty consisting in the juxtaposition of πᾶν and τὸ ἀδικοῦσθαι, so he added *quale*, which was later reflected by the Bipontine edition and accepted by Dodds.

c) 513 c8–d1: ἀλλ' ἐὰν πολλάκις [ἴσως] καὶ βέλτιον ταῦτα ταῦτα διασκοπώμεθα, πεισθήσῃ.

B.: Verum si saepius ac melius haec eadem consideremus, tibi persuadebuntur.

F.: Verum si saepius meliusque haec eadem consideraverimus, tibi forte probabilia videbuntur.

The majority of editors follow Schefer in deleting ἴσως. It was already Bruni who noticed that the word was meaningless here. Ficino solved the difficulty by transposing ἴσως before πεισθήσῃ. The idea was imitated by Ast.

d) 453 c5–8: ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ ἐτύγχανόν σε ἐρωτῶν τις ἐστὶν τῶν ζωγράφων Ζεῦξις, εἴ μοι εἶπες ὅτι ὁ τὰ ζῷα γράφων, ἄρ' οὐκ ἂν δικαίως σε ἠρόμην ὁ τὰ ποῖα τῶν ζῶων γράφων καὶ ποῦ;

B.: ...veluti si petissem, quis pictorum est Zeuxis et responderes mihi animalia pingentem, nonne iuste peterem, qualia animalia?

Bruni omits the words καὶ ποῦ. H. Schmidt and some editors condemned them as pointless, and deleted them as well.

e) 477 d5–6: ΠΩΛ. Οὐκ ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ, ὃ Σώκρατες, ἀπὸ τούτων γε.

B.: Po. Non mihi videtur, o Socrates.

The words ἀπὸ τούτων γε were condemned by many scholars. As Dodds points out in his commentary, 'the words come in oddly here: Polus' rejection of the suggestion is based not on Socrates arguments but on common experience'.<sup>8</sup> Bruni does not render these words — but perhaps it is a simple shortening, a measure Bruni often used.

f) 488 e1–2: ΣΩ. Οὐκοῦν τὰ τῶν βελτιόνων; οἱ γὰρ κρείττους βελτίους που κατὰ τὸν σὸν λόγον.

B.: Meliorum ergo? Nam qui potentiores secundum te meliores sunt.

που was conjectured by Hermann. Scholars rejected the manuscript reading — πολὺ — which 'can hardly be defended, since it imports a

<sup>7</sup> Dodds, p. 265.

<sup>8</sup> Dodds, p. 253.

qualification which has not been admitted and which is wholly irrelevant to the argument'.<sup>9</sup> Wilamowitz deleted πολὺ, but the first to make such an emendation was Leonardo Bruni, who noticed the inadequacy of the word.

g) 518 a1-5: διὸ δὴ καὶ ταύτας μὲν δουλοπρεπεῖς τε καὶ διακονικὰς καὶ ἀνελευθέρους εἶναι [περὶ σώματος πραγματείαν], τὰς ἄλλας τέχνας, τὴν δὲ γυμναστικὴν καὶ ἰατρικὴν κατὰ τὸ δίκαιον δεσποίνας εἶναι τούτων.

B.: Quapropter dicendum est istas quidem serviles et ministras et illiberales esse, gymnasticam vero et medicinam merito praeesse.

In his translation Bruni omits the words περὶ σώματος πραγματείαν, later deleted from the text by Dodds who considered them a gloss on τὰς ἄλλας τέχνας - 'the other arts *concerned with the body*'.<sup>10</sup>

Though Marsilio Ficino himself is the author of numerous emendations in the *Gorgias* that we find in the critical editions of the dialogue, in many cases (like 2a,b,c above) it goes unnoticed that a modern conjecture is based on his Latin translation. I managed to identify three other cases of this kind:

a) 449 b7: ἀλλ' ὅπερ ὑπισχνῆ, μὴ ψεύσῃ

F.: Verum quod mihi promiseris, observato.

Ficino's translation may have been the source of Morstadt's conjecture ὅπερ <ἄν> ὑπισχνῆ.

b) 466 e13-467 a1: ΣΩ. Οὐκοῦν ἀποδείξεις τοὺς ῥήτορας νοῦν ἔχοντας καὶ τέχνην τὴν ῥητορικὴν ἀλλὰ μὴ κολακείαν, ἐμὲ ἐξελέγξας;

F.: Nonne igitur ostendendum tibi est oratores habere mentem atque rhetoricam non adulationem quidem esse, sed artem, quo me convincas?

Ficino's way of understanding the passage may have suggested Hirschig's conjecture ἀποδείξας ... ἐξελέγξεις.

c) 489 d6: τί ποτε λέγεις τοὺς βελτίους, ἐπειδὴ οὐ τοὺς ἰσχυροτέρους;

F.: ...quos tandem ais meliores esse, quando non validiores?

Ficino's version — *quos* — was a plausible source of Routh's conjecture τίνας instead of τί.

<sup>9</sup> Dodds, p. 285.

<sup>10</sup> Dodds, p. 363.

While Ficino's emendatory work has been known for a long time, Bruni's conjectures in Plato remained obscure until recently, for an obvious reason — the humanist's translations have never been printed (except the *Letters*) and are yet to be explored in manuscripts. Hopefully they will finally be published in critical editions. A detailed analysis of these translations will then reveal many of Bruni's hitherto unnoted emendations and will confirm his ability as a textual critic. Scholars studying the textual tradition of Plato will have to take these data into consideration.

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# INSTRUMENTUM BIBLIOGRAPHICUM NEOLATINUM

apparaverunt

Gilbert Tournoy, Dirk Sacré, Kris Delcroix

iuvantibus Antonio Dávila Pérez, Jeanine De Landtsheer, Jan Papy,  
Paolo Sartori

## *Appellatio ad auctores*

Auctores librorum et commentationum de rebus neolatinis enixe rogamus ut nuntium de novis opusculis nobis mittant (in Seminarium Philologiae Humanisticae, Blijde-Inkomststraat 21, B-3000 Leuven, Belgium), quo citius in hoc instrumentum possint referri.

Haec bibliographia absoluta est Kalendis Augustis anni 2006.

## SIGLA:

<i>BHR</i>	<i>Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance</i> (Genève)
<i>CamHung</i>	<i>Camoenae Hungaricae</i> (Budapest)
<i>CR</i>	<i>Calamus renascens. Revista de humanismo y tradición clásica</i> (Alcañiz - Teruel - Cádiz)
<i>ERSY</i>	<i>Erasmus of Rotterdam Society Yearbook</i> (Middleton, WI)
<i>GSLI</i>	<i>Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana</i> (Torino)
<i>HL</i>	<i>Humanistica Lovaniensia</i> (Leuven)
<i>IJCT</i>	<i>International Journal of the Classical Tradition</i> (Boston)
<i>JWCI</i>	<i>Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes</i> (London)
<i>NJ</i>	<i>Neulateinisches Jahrbuch</i> (Hildesheim - Zürich - New York)
<i>RELat</i>	<i>Revista de Estudios Latinos</i> (Madrid)
<i>RHR</i>	<i>Réforme, Humanisme, Renaissance</i> (Lyon)
<i>RIN</i>	<i>Rinascimento</i> (Firenze)
<i>RPH</i>	<i>Revista Portuguesa de Humanidades</i> (Braga)
<i>RPL</i>	<i>Res Publica Litterarum</i> (Roma)
<i>RQ</i>	<i>Renaissance Quarterly</i> (New York)
<i>RS</i>	<i>Renaissance Studies. Journal of the Society for Renaissance Studies</i> (Oxford)
<i>SCJ</i>	<i>The Sixteenth Century Journal</i> (Missouri, CO)
<i>SUP</i>	<i>Studi Umanistici Piceni</i> (Sassoferrato)
<i>WRM</i>	<i>Wolfenbütteler Renaissance Mitteilungen</i> (Wiesbaden)

## ABBREVIATIONES:

- ALF IX* *Acta selecta noni Conventus Academiae Latinitati Fovendae (in urbe Jyväskylä, 6-12 Augusti MCMXCVII)*. Quae edenda curaverunt Bruno Luiselli, Erkki Palmén et Tuomo Pekkanen, adiutricibus Anna-Helena Mers et Mari Tuuainen (Romae: Herder, 2002).
- ALF X* Capellán García Antonio - María Dolores Alonso Saiz (eds.), *Acta selecta decimi Conventus Academiae Latinitati Fovendae (Matriti, 2-7 Septembris 2002)* (Romae: Academia Latinitati Fovendae - Matriti: Instituto de Estudios Humanísticos de Alcañiz, 2006).
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## INSTRUMENTUM LEXICOGRAPHICUM

D. Sacré

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## 3. INDEX VERBORUM RECENTIORUM

Sequuntur verba quae neque in *Thesaurο Linguae Latinae* (ThLL) neque in *Lexico Totius Latinitatis Forcelliniano* (Forc.) reperiuntur. Ea autem quae in lexicis et glossariis mediae et inferioris Latinitatis leguntur stellula (\*) notavimus; cruce (+) quae in lexico neolatino Renati Hoven (Hoven), orbiculo (°) quae in indice verborum neolatorum Iohannis Ramminger interretiali offenduntur. Nomina locorum virorumve et mulierum quaeque ex eis sunt derivata, aliaque id genus vocabula non nisi raro afferuntur.

\*Aggratulatio, -onis = gratulatio: 14

\*Amphibius, -a, -um: *having a double life* (alio sensu in ThLL): 147

Australicus, -a, -um = Austriacus: 7

\*+Biblia, -ae: Bible: 7

Carpinianensis, -is, -e: *from Carpignano Sal.*: 209

Cupressiger(us), -a, -um = cupressifer: 160

\*+°Excudere, -o: *print* (alio sensu in ThLL): 15, 18

°Excupere, -io = discupere: 148

\*+Fascinatrix, -icis: *witch*: 34



\*+Gloriosulus, -a, -um: *quite presumptuous*: 124

Heraldus, -i = heros (*alio sensu apud Cangium, Hoven, alios*): 1, 5

Holtlandia, -ae = Hollandia: 83

Hudsonius, -a, -um: *from Hudson river*: 185, 202

\*+°Humanista, -ae: *humanist*: 9, 13, 14

\*Humanisticus, -a, -um: *humanistic*: 10

Iconographicus, -a, -um: *iconographic*: 87

\*+Iesuita, -ae: *Jesuit*: 9

Immersibilis, -is, -e = immersabilis: 138

\*+°Imprimere, -o: *print (alio sensu in ThLL)*: 15

Islandia, -ae: *Iceland*: 189

\*Islandus, -i: *Icelander*: 185

\*+Laureatio, -onis: *crowning with laurels*: 54

Norvegicus, -a, -um: *Norwegian*: 183-194

\*+Partibiliter = partiliter: 126

\*Pergamenus, -a, -um = pergamenicus: 7

\*Perefficax: *very efficient*: 149

\*+°Poetista, -ae: *bad poet*: 118

+°Recudere, -o: *reprint (alio sensu in lexico mediolatino Lathamī)*: 163

\*+°Renascentia, -ae: *renaissance*: 69

\*+Ruditer: *roughly, harshly*: 118

\*+°Sacellanus, -i: *chaplain*: 158

\*+°Secretarius, -ii: *secretary*: 141, 156

Semeliparus, -a, -um: *giving birth only once*: 30

Transalpinus, -ia, -ium = Transalpinus: 144, 151

\*+°Typographicus, -a, -um: *typographical*: 15

\*+°Typographus, -i: *printer*: 16

## INDICES

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<sup>1</sup> Composuit Tom Deneire.

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## NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

*Humanistica Lovaniensia* follows the *MHRA Style Book. Notes for Authors, Editors and Writers of Theses*, ed. by A. S. Maney - R. L. Smallwood, 5th edn (London: Modern Humanities Research Association, 1996), with a few exceptions as noted below. Accepted manuscripts that do not follow these rules can be delayed in publication.

### 1. bibliographical references

#### 1.1. first reference

##### 1.1.1. references to books

The information should be given in the following order:

- author: forename in full, if not possible his initial(s); family name as it appears on the title page
  - \* Sometimes it might be better to include the author's name within the title (e.g. texteditions).
  - \* The names up to three authors should be given in full; for works by more than three authors the name of only the first should be given, followed by 'et al.' (= et alii) (see example 4).
- comma
- title: title of the work (including the subtitle) as it appears on the title page, in italics
  - \* Title and subtitle should always be separated by a colon. For books in English, capitalize the first word after the colon and of all principal words throughout the title. For titles in other languages, follow the capitalization rules for the language in question.
  - \* Titles of other works occurring within the title should be enclosed in single quotation marks.
- comma
- editor, translator etc.: the names of editors etc. should be treated in the same way as those of authors (as to forename, number); they should be preceded by the accepted abbreviations 'ed. (by)', 'trans. (by)', 'rev. (by)', ...
- comma
- series, edition, number of volumes:
  - \* If a book is part of a numbered series, the series title and the number (in Arabic numerals) should be given. Series titles should not be italicized (see example 2).
  - \* If the edition used is other than the first, this should be stated by '2nd edn', '3rd rev. edn' (see example 5).
  - \* If the work is in more than one volume, the number of volumes should be given in the form '2 vols', a comma separating title and number of volumes (see example 3).

- details of publication: place of publication, publisher's name and date of publication are enclosed in parentheses; a colon separates the place from the publisher's name; a comma separates the latter from the date

\* If place or date are not given but can be ascertained, they should be enclosed in brackets. If one of them remains uncertain, one should use '[s.l.]' (= no place), '[s.a.]' (= no date) or '[s.l.a.]' when both are lacking.

\* In giving the place of publication, either the current form of place names in the language the article is written in, or its official form in its own country should be used.

\* The name of the publisher should be given without secondary matter such as '& Co.', 'Ltd', 'S.A.', etc. Forenames or initials should be omitted. Where a publisher's name includes 'and' or '&', the conjunction should be given in the form which appears on the title page.

\* A reference to a work in several volumes published over a period of years should state the number of volumes and give inclusive dates of publication, with the date of the volume specifically referred to in parentheses after the volume number, when it is not the first or last in the series. If a work in several volumes is still in the process of publication, the date of the first volume should be stated, followed by a dash; the date of the individual number being cited should be added in parentheses after the volume number (see example 5).

- If the reference is to a book as a whole, a point will conclude it. If further information about volume and/or pages is requested, a comma is added, followed by the number of the volume (in small capital roman numerals and where necessary the year of publication in parentheses), a new comma, concluded by the exact page or pages.

\* When the volume number is given, 'p./pp.' should be omitted, unless the page number(s) is (are) also in roman numerals (see example 5). If there is no volume number, the numerals are preceded by 'p./pp.', 'col./cols', 'fol./fols'.

\* The first and the last number of the span should always be stated (instead of 'sq.' or 'ff.'!)

#### Examples:

(1) Mark Morford, *Stoics and Neostoics: Rubens and the Circle of Lipsius* (Princeton New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1991).

(2) G. Oestreich - N. Mout, *Antiker Geist und moderner Staat bei Justus Lipsius (1547-1606): der Neustoizismus als politische Bewegung*, Schriftenreihe der Historischen Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 38 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1989).

(3) Leon Voet, *The Plantin Press, 1559-1589: A Bibliography of the Works printed and published by Christopher Plantin at Antwerp and Leiden*, 6 vols (Amsterdam: Van Hoeve, 1980-1983).

(4) *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, eds. G. Pignatelli et al. (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1960- ).

(5) *Indice Biografico Italiano, 3a edizione corretta ed ampliata*, ed. T. Nappo, 10 vols (München: Saur, 1999-2002), III (2000), 944.

## 1.1.2. references to articles in journals

The information should be given in the following order:

- author (cf. supra)
- comma
- title of the article, in single quotation marks; title and subtitle are separated by a colon
  - \* The title of works of literature occurring within the title of an article should be italicized or placed within quotation marks.
- comma
- title of journal, in italics
  - \* Only the main title should be given; an initial 'The' or 'A' and any subtitle should be omitted.
  - \* In case of several references to the same journal, an abbreviated title should be indicated after the first full reference or in a preliminary list of abbreviations.
- comma
- volume number, always in arabic numerals
- year of publication, in parentheses
- comma
- first and last page numbers of article cited, without 'p./pp.'
- page number(s), in parentheses and preceded by 'p./pp.' in case of a particular reference

Examples:

- Godelieve Tournoy-Thoen, 'Le manuscrit de la *Biblioteca de Catalunya* et l'humanisme italien à la cour de France vers 1500', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 24 (1975), 70-101; 26 (1977), 1-81; 27 (1978), 52-85.
- Michel Oosterbosch - Gilbert Tournoy, 'Two Unknown Autograph Letters by Justus Lipsius (1547-1606)', *Lias*, 23 (1996), 321-326 (pp. 325-326).
- Perrine Hallyn-Galand, 'La "Praelectio in Suetonium" de Nicholas Bérauld (1515)', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 46 (1997), 62-93 (p. 87).

## 1.1.3. references to articles in books

The information should be given in the following order:

- author (cf. supra)
- comma
- title of the article, in single quotation marks (cf. 1.1.2.)
- comma
- the word 'in' (without colon) followed by title, editor's name, and publication details of the book, as in 1.1.1.
- comma
- first and last page numbers of article cited, preceded by 'p./pp.'
- page number(s), in parentheses and preceded by 'p./pp.' in case of a particular reference

## Example:

- Jozef IJsewijn, 'The Coming of Humanism to the Low Countries', in *Itinerarium Italicum: The Profile of the Italian Renaissance in the Mirror of its European Transformations. Dedicated to P.O. Kristeller...*, eds. H. A. Oberman - Th. A. Brady, Jr. (Leiden: Brill, 1975), pp. 193-305 (p. 260).

## 1.1.4. references to theses and dissertations

The titles of unpublished theses and dissertations should be in roman type within single quotation marks, capitalization following the conventions of the language in question. The degree level, university and date should be in parentheses.

## Example:

- Robert Ingram, 'Historical Drama in Great Britain from 1935 to the Present' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, 1992), pp. 17-23.

## 1.1.5. references to manuscripts

Names of repositories and collections should be given in full when first occurring; an abbreviated form should be used for subsequent references.

## Example:

First reference: Leiden, University Library, ms. Lips. 4.

Later reference: Leiden, UL, ms. Lips. 4.

## 1.1.6. references to classical authors

In references to classical authors and their works the system of abbreviations adopted in the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae ... Index librorum scriptorum inscriptionum ex quibus exempla afferuntur*, 2 edn (Leipzig: Teubner, 1990) should be followed, but with the (abbreviation of the) author's name in normal print, the (abbreviation of the) title in italics and comma's between all parts of the reference.

## Example:

Stat., *Silv.*, 3, 1, 182.

## 1.2. later references

In all further references, the shortest, intelligible form should be used. This will normally be the author's name (without initials) followed by (the volume and) the page reference. When more than one work of the same author is referred to, the title should be repeated in a shortened form. Phrases as 'loc. cit.' and 'op. cit.' should not be used.

## Examples:

- IJsewijn, 'The Coming of Humanism', p. 195.

- Voet, *The Plantin Press*, II, 234-139.

## 2. lay-out

### 2.1. quotations

- *Short quotations* (not more than about forty words of prose or two complete lines of verse) should be enclosed in single quotation marks and run on with the main text. If, however, there are several such short quotations coming close together and being compared or otherwise set out as examples, it may be appropriate to treat them in the same way as longer quotations.

\* If two incomplete lines of verse are quoted, the line division should be marked with a spaced upright stroke l.

\* A quotation within a quotation is enclosed within double quotation marks.

\* If a short quotation is used within a sentence, the final full point should be outside the closing quotation mark; the initial capital may be altered to lower case.

\* When a short quotation is followed by a reference in parentheses, the final punctuation should follow the closing parenthesis.

\* The final point should precede the closing quotation mark only when the quotation forms a complete sentence and is separated from the preceding passage by a punctuation mark.

Examples:

- Clusius was generous with his advice and with gifts of plants, including the still rare and valuable tulips, a 'thesaurum hortensem' ('garden treasure'), as Lipsius called one gift in 1585.

- According to Peter Smith 'the seven newly discovered poems by Catullus are absolutely fabulous'.

- Michel Oosterbosch and Gilbert Tournoy inform us 'that in the *index* to that same *Inventaire* (p. 526) the questionable initial was resolved into "Nicolaus"'.  
- Soames added: 'Well, I hope you both enjoy yourselves.'

- *Long quotations* (more than about forty words of prose or two complete lines of verse) should be broken off by an increased space from the preceding and following lines of type script. No quotation marks are needed. The quotation should also be distinguished from the main text by using a smaller size and indenting.

\* Omissions within prose quotations should be marked by [...] (an ellipsis); omitted lines of verse should be marked by an ellipsis at the end of the line before the omission. An ellipsis at the beginning or the end of a quotation is not necessary.

\* A reference in parentheses after a long quotation should always be placed outside the closing full point and without a full point of its own.

Example:

- Harvey does, however, provide several references to the Court of Arches as the locale. For example, he writes:

If we were wearye with walking, and loth to go too farre to seeke sport, into the Arches we might step, and heare him plead; which would bee a merrier Comedie than ever was old Mother *Bomby*. As, for an instance: suppose hee were to sollicite some cause against Martinists, were it not a jest to see him stroke his beard thrice, and begin thus? [...] O, we should have the Proctors and Registers as busie with their Tablebooks as might bee, to gather phrases, and all the boyes in Towne would be his clients tio follow him. (*Gabriel Harvey: His Life, Marginalia and Library*, ed. by Virginia F. Stern (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), p. 81)

## 2.2. footnotes

- Footnotes should be limited to what is strictly necessary, e. g. for documentation and for the citation of sources relevant to the text.
- The number of footnotes can also be kept down by incorporating simple references (such as line numbers or page references to a book already cited in full) in the text, for instance in parentheses after quotations. Adjacent references to several lines of the same text or to several pages of the same publication can be grouped together in the same footnote.
- Neither should footnotes repeat information already clear from the text: if for instance a bibliography is added to a book or an article, the length of the footnotes can be reduced.
- Wherever possible a footnote reference should be placed at the end of a sentence so as not to interrupt the flow of the text. In this case the footnote reference number follows the punctuation mark.
- All footnotes should end with a full point, whether or not they form complete sentences.

## 2.3. general requirements

- The author's name should appear at the head of the article (first name in full, surname in small capitals), followed by the title in capitals. His or her affiliation should appear at the end of the body of the text, followed by his or her address and e-mail.
- Titles for chapters or paragraphs in the text should be put in bold and should be numbered in Arabic.
- Manuscripts should be double-spaced, except footnotes and long quotations. Manuscripts for publication should be submitted (in 2 copies) to a member of the editorial board. After the final acceptance of the contribution a PC/Macintosh compatible high-density 1.44mb disk will be most welcome.
- The authors are asked to provide an abstract of not more than ten lines which will appear on the website of *Humanistica Lovaniensia*.



# SUPPLEMENTA HUMANISTICA LOVANIENSIA

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